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## COMPREHENSION AND TRANSLATION OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL LATIN PROSE

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Of the objectives considered valid in the study of Latin those which center in the improvement of the control of English by the pupil have long been thought by the teachers of Latin to be among the most important. Passive control has been stressed by many, perhaps by most teachers, and yet a very important procedure in almost all Latin classes has been translation of the thought of the Roman writer into English. There are two arguments which strengthen the position of the teacher who works for an active control of English on the part of his pupils. The first is that Latin should have as many objectives for those studying it as are valid and for which there is time, and the second is that if a teacher allows pupils to utilize English actively, especially in translation of the Roman author, he is obliged willy-nilly to work toward an improvement in the pupils' English. If he does not, the work of the class tends toward the speaking and writing of grammatically faulty English, and, what is worse, the speaking and writing of meaningless strings of words, practices not to be tolerated in any institution which wishes to call itself educational. In order that the reader may not conclude that my position in regard to the second argument is unduly pessimistic, I should like to review briefly two studies which have criticized the English of translations from Latin offered by secondary-school pupils in the past.

One study is by Miller and Briggs, "The Effect of Latin Translations on English,"<sup>1</sup> the other by M. Woodring, *A Study of the*

<sup>1</sup> *School Review* xxxi (1923), 756-762.

*Quality of English in Latin Translations.*<sup>2</sup> These two studies tend to corroborate rather than to supplement one another, although the former treats mainly oral translation and the latter exclusively written translation; accordingly, I take the liberty of discussing the points advanced by either without distinction of authorship.

These writers assume that good or poor work in translating from the Latin into the English will have an influence on the correctness and literary worth of English written independently and creatively. They note that it is rare in the classroom for a pupil to complete an oral translation without interruption by the teacher, so that the pupil does not succeed in uttering a complete thought but is almost forced into undue attention to mere word-for-word renderings and into consequent anacolutha. Since the investigation was partly concerned with translations of passages from Cicero, the length and complexity of whose sentences make it especially necessary to see the unit of thought as a graceful periodic whole, the effect of interruption could hardly be anything but disastrous. Equally disastrous was the failure in most cases to have the pupil translate the sentence as a whole afterward, incorporating whatever suggestions the teacher had interpolated, not to speak of the failure of the teacher himself to offer in final approved form a translation of the whole sentence, or, better, of the whole paragraph.

A fault ascribed by the investigators to those translations which teachers did offer was that they followed the Latin order too closely, thus neglecting the structural nature of our own language. Unhappily for this contention, I must remark that there are some sentences offered as evidence of this evil practice which seem to me to be worth while rather than vicious. It would be too bad if we were to insist that there is only one mold into which English thought-groups can be poured and were to discourage any attempt of the pupils to experiment with the admittedly limited possibilities of variety in English word-order. Certainly we can to some extent follow the units of thought in the order they are presented if we are willing to offer thought equivalents instead of mere grammatical equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University (1925).

The chief objection presented was that a high percentage of pupil translations conveyed no reasonable meaning. Certainly, if translation has any function, it is to tell the reader or hearer something and not to be a jumble of words. Any translation which does not conform to this principle means an opportunity lost, time wasted. And in the scramble among rival departments of instruction to claim the time of the pupils—am I too pessimistic about educators?—such a charge can with justice be leveled at classicists if they allow this sort of thing to go on in their classes. How rife this laxity at one time was may be seen from the fact that I myself never heard a teacher say until the third year of college that what the foreign author wrote made sense and that what any translator writes or says must make sense. Do not believe for a moment that this truism can be taken for granted with school children. You must tell children what they are doing and what is expected of them, and hardly ever can the telling be done in too simple terms. The pupil, then, must sometimes force himself in extreme cases where the grammatical structure of the sentence is not completely clear, as, for instance, in written tests, to make sense and refuse to offer anything that is incomplete or garbled.

A high percentage of the translations studied were of the notorious "translation English"—awkward, involved, and unidiomatic. Some types of errors which were considered by the investigators to be induced by efforts to translate were: inaccurate use of prepositions and conjunctions, direct translation of idiomatic Latin expressions, violation of sequence of tenses, unnecessary and unjustified shift in tense, redundant use of subjects, and double comparison of adjectives. All but the first two of these types are observable, however, in all types of speech and writing of school pupils. They probably occur more frequently in translation because the material is more complex than that involved in free composition in English and are simply imported into the Latin class from without. Nevertheless, it is the task of the Latin teacher to root them out of his class so far as he can.

The oral translations studied were all in small units, generally of one sentence. This classroom practice tended to hinder comprehension of the paragraph as a whole and to destroy any feeling for

unity of style, as well as to prevent the pupil's gaining any feeling of familiarity for sentence connectives in English or Latin. The remedy suggested was that classroom translations be made in groups of sentences or in paragraphs.

In choice of words there was little variety among the pupils. The tendency was to learn a single word-response to each single Latin word and to employ this one English word in and out of season. Superficial resemblance and mere etymological connection often played havoc with sense and caused much of the "translation English." Clearly, when several radically different meanings for a given Latin word are apt to crop up, all must be at the service of the pupil, not just one. Further, habitual single word-responses tend to inhibit an extension of vocabulary in English and to prevent the rendering of an idea in a euphonious manner or with due attention to shadings of meaning. The studies showed that in general little attention was given to the achieving of rhetorical effects and that there was little hunting for the precise, effective, or colorful word. If, for instance, we think of "spirit" as an equivalent of *animus*, we must also consider the English word as a core around which numerous synonyms or near-synonyms hover, all ready to our hand.

The types of grammatical errors which most abounded were such as arise out of combinations like verb with subject, verb with object, and verb with modifier, or else out of reference relationships such as relative pronoun with its antecedent or out of misplacing of clauses and other modifiers. These are faults which should receive especial attention in the Latin class, since it is probable that the Latin class will continue to be the place where grammar, however studied, is more important for the pupil than anywhere else in the school.

The general conclusion of the two studies is that if the translation is to have a good effect on English instead of a bad one, more attention must be given to perfecting the art, even if less ground be covered in reading Latin or less translation be done in class. It is my own conclusion, further, that the complexity of sentence structure which we meet in many Roman authors offers the pupil good practice in disentangling the meaning and recasting it in



English in sentences simple or complex according to the taste of the individual. This opportunity I consider too good to be missed. For this reason I advocate continued work in translating passages from the Latin but endorse the restrictions suggested in the studies mentioned here.

It is time to turn now to a more positive view of things. The considerations which will determine our procedures are, in summary: the necessity to read as large an amount of graded, meaningful, related Latin material as we can; to guarantee that our pupils understand completely all that they read; to see that our pupils translate into English only material previously understood as read in the Latin and in such a way as to build up the ability of the pupils to speak and write correct and effective English. These procedures represent the principles of breadth of experience, depth of experience, and intrinsic value of experience for the pupil. No truly educational activity can dispense with any one of the three.

Before we can discuss translation, we must investigate the methods by which comprehension can be tested. The only feasible methods of checking comprehension are: (1) the asking of questions by the teacher on the content of the Latin passage; (2) the statement of the content of the Latin sentence by the pupil in English in the form of a metaphrase; (3) the free summary by the pupil in English of the content of the Latin passage; and (4) the translation of the passage into English.

The shortest way to ascertain whether the pupils have comprehended the Latin they have read is the use of questions and answers in English. In many textbooks good questions are to be found at the end of each reading section, and where they are wanting, the teacher can make them up himself. By this method the teacher can see to it that those ideas in the passage are brought out which are most important.

The use of the metaphrase is in Latin of the simpler kind almost as good a test of comprehension as an accurate translation. By metaphrase I mean the rendering of the Latin sentence into English word-group by word-group; such an ordering of the English sentence is not really English, and the pupil must understand this fact, but both he and the teacher will ordinarily know what is

being said in spite of the strange phrase-order. The metaphor is thus a device whereby the transition from Latin word-order to English word-order is effected by the intermediate step of English phrases in Latin order. It focuses the attention of the pupil on the Latin word-order.

An example of the reading of the Latin in convenient word-blocks followed by a metaphor is afforded by *B. G. VII, 80*:

Caesar,—omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum disposito,—ut,—si usus veniat,—suum quisque locum . . . teneat et noverit,—equitatum ex castris educi—et proelium committi—iubet.

Caesar—arranging his whole army on the two sides of his fortifications—in order that—in case an emergency should come—each man his own station—should know and hold fast—the cavalry to be led forth from the camp—and battle to be begun—ordered.

The restatement by the pupil of the contents of the Latin passage can be a fair check on his comprehension and has the special merit of giving him practice in recognizing the important facts and in distinguishing them from the subsidiary details. The fuller the account which the pupil gives, the more care he will have to exercise in connecting the details with the thread of the story in their true proportion and relationship.

Since translation is only one way by which the pupil can show the teacher that he has comprehended the Latin he has read, it follows that where the Latin is simple and offers no real practice to the pupil in the writing of English, we should turn to the questionnaire, the summary, or the metaphor. If we remember that a good translation takes considerable time to prepare, we can easily see that the other methods are shorter ways of checking on comprehension. The questionnaire and the summary have the advantage over the metaphor in that they are always serviceable, while the latter is not invariably applicable beyond the easier types of prose. In any case, the ideal thing is to combine the three above-mentioned devices with translation both for the sake of variety and of the different advantages of each one.

It is, however, not enough to discuss the methods whereby the teacher can check on the pupil's comprehension of the Latin. We must also consider some activities which can aid in making clear

the meaning of the text. The first step is, of course, the oral reading of the text, very often by the teacher, but also frequently by the pupil, since visual and sound images tend to supplement one another. The teacher must be careful to read the text with intonation and expression such as a similar reading in English would call for, breaking up the sentences into significant word-groups, and always at first reading taking care to read the whole paragraph through so that the unity of topic may be more or less clearly apprehended. The pupil in his reading should be encouraged to do the same. Occasionally the teacher would be well advised, once having read a paragraph to the class, to reread the sentences individually word-block by word-block, pausing in the intervals to see that the pupils have all understood so far and have given some sign of comprehension. This procedure can often take place with the books of the pupils closed. Questions on the content can then be put to the class with reasonable assurance that intelligent answers will be given. This, too, can often be done with books closed. The use of the metaphrase in the early stages of Latin is helpful in so far as it forces the pupil to pay heed to the Latin word-order and phrase-order and to master them, even though the content is given by him in English words. In the reading of Cicero or Vergil, however, the use of the metaphrase in general no longer pays for itself; by that time the pupil should have mastered Latin word- and phrase-order. Moreover, the simple types of word-order that appear in made Latin and generally in Caesar are not so commonly found in Cicero or Vergil. Too often do we find a "contamination" of two or more word-blocks which is not amenable to expression in an English metaphrase, as, for example, in the *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii* XIX, 56: *Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebatis*. On the other hand I have found it helpful in introducing a class to Vergil to have them rewrite some of his sentences in a conventional prose order with strict fidelity to word-blocks.

The teacher ought always to help the class with the preparation of the assigned advance passage by reading it aloud paragraph by paragraph, stopping for questions from the pupils on vocabulary or construction. Where a pupil does not know a word and the

teacher cannot elicit its meaning from him by referring to its component parts or to some English derivative or by letting him guess on the basis of the context, the teacher should give him an English equivalent or convey the meaning ostensibly. That is what the teacher is there for. This procedure saves the pupil the uneducational drudgery of excessive work with the lexicon. The purpose of withholding the English equivalent from the pupil until other resources fail is to get him into habits of utilizing what he knows to attack the problem of the unknown. Where the teacher is obliged to give an English equivalent, it is well to tie up the Latin word with some English derivatives as a mnemonic device. This has the added value of calling the pupil's attention to the existence of derivatives in each case and also of showing the limitations which English derivatives have in helping one to understand a Latin word.

In relation to the problem of comprehension, I note that much was made in the *Classical Investigation* of the utilization by the pupil, and of the development in him, of reflective thinking in trying to comprehend the meaning of a passage. It was made clear that this process occurred in connection with comprehension of the Latin sentence in the Latin order. While I heartily endorse this method of attack on the Latin sentence and would discourage any other, except as a last resort in sentences where grammatical analysis must take place, we should realize that the more successful the pupil is in assimilating this method, the more the process becomes automatic and unconscious, and therefore the less an exercise in reflective thinking. If the pupil reads each word-block with a clear knowledge of the possible meanings and suspends judgment as to just which meaning is involved until some other element in the sentence makes it plain, he has no doubt performed a rudimentary operation in reflective thinking, and this operation may be valuable, but he cannot go on forever like that. In the long run—and a not very long run at that—he must get to the point where only the most involved constructions call for this performance; the rest he will long since have mastered to such an extent that he understands almost as naturally and as automatically as a Roman what the sentence means. Otherwise he is never likely to read Latin with any ease and speed.

The problem of enabling the pupil to comprehend the Latin he reads is so difficult even with well-graded Latin that one may well be excused for thinking that the problem of translation is relatively easy. That this is hardly so one may conclude from a recent article on that subject by Dorothea Woodworth.<sup>3</sup> And we must realize that if we ourselves sometimes feel inadequate in the translation of Latin material, we cannot expect too much of our pupils in this respect. For this reason I think we do well to let the pupil reproduce in as ambitious English as he can muster the bare ideas he has gleaned from his reading of the Latin. My further conclusion is that we cannot call anything a translation which is offered at first sight of a passage. This so-called sight translation is a rough statement of what the pupil sees in the passage and can have no beneficial effect on his English, since it is necessarily a halting patchwork of words and phrases. Translation cannot, then, be reasonably demanded on a sight passage except in a written examination, where the pupil has some time to think out his English. A paraphrase or a questionnaire may be allowable in sight reading, but nothing that can be called a translation. It is also a waste of time to ask the student to prepare a translation of material so easy that no demands are made on the compositional ability of the pupil. Accordingly, the teacher will ask for translation in the early stages of Latin only where he feels that the pupils cannot get the sense in any other way or where some pupil asks to have a sentence translated. Practice in writing translations should begin with the second year, however, before long complex sentences begin to appear, before any study of Caesar, for example. If the writing of translation is too long delayed, the numerous problems involved pile up at the beginning, and an easy, gradual approach to writing is prevented.

An interesting method of satisfying the desire of students for a definite responsibility in giving a literary translation in class and at the same time restricting the amount of translation done by any one student is that of Professor John Titchener, of Ohio State University. He assigns for translation several connected sentences

<sup>3</sup> CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXIII, 193-210.



in the advance reading to various members of the class. These are usually not prepared in written form. For the secondary-school pupil—Professor Titchener employs the method in college classes—I should insist that the translation be written out. Furthermore, the parts of the lesson to be written out as translation should have been comprehended already in the reading of the day, and only those parts should be written out which make demands on the expressive ability of the pupils.

Another device incorporating these ideas at an earlier stage in the Latin program is that employed by Professor Paul Diederich, formerly of Ohio State University. Professor Diederich's pupils read much material silently and then reported orally on the content of their readings. Those stories or passages that seemed most interesting to them were then assigned for written translation. The translation was motivated by the wish to present the material to the class as a whole, since different sections of the class read different materials.

It must be clear to the reader by this time that there is no such thing as translation unless it is a consciously artistic product worked out by the pupil at some pains after a thorough comprehension of the Latin and submitted in written form to be read before the class, just as any creative writing or report would be. The limitation of translation as contrasted with creative writing is that it is not the expression of the independent experience or feeling of the pupil but resembles rather the writing up of some study that the pupil might have made in the social sciences or some other area where information is often obtained at second hand.

The steps, then, which the class should take in dealing with the Latin text should be as follows: a reading aloud of the paragraph with expressiveness and attention to word-groups; the asking and answering of questions in order to aid the pupils in the comprehension of the material; the asking of factual or inferential questions on the paragraph by the teacher, or, in lieu of this in the early stages, the rendering of the passage in a paraphrase by a pupil—when the paraphrase is dropped, the teacher may call for a summary of the paragraph; finally, if the passage is worth it,

the assignment of the paragraph for written translations to be prepared at home by two or three pupils; these to be read to the class the next day and compared for accuracy and rhetorical value by the class. Generally speaking, one would not ask for the preparation of a passage which had already been heard in an English metaphrase. Material simple enough to be rendered in a metaphrase is usually not complex enough to make demands on the writing ability of the pupil.

The suggestions I have made presuppose that the pupil has been brought along on the reading of carefully graded Latin material, that words in Latin are learned rather through repeated reading than through arduous drill on isolated word lists, that word-for-word correspondence between English and Latin is avoided without shunning the constant reference to English that is necessary if Latin is to support the English program of the school, and that enlargement of the English vocabulary, while usually desirable, is not necessarily good, if we neglect the shifts of meaning which different contexts bring about. The constant contrast between the abstract English and the concrete Latin is not so serious a problem in comprehension or translation as it would be if we were attempting to translate from English into Latin, but certainly the teacher can profitably explore with his pupils the nature of that contrast and encourage the use of concrete expression wherever possible in order to help his pupils avoid the use of the loose, general language that is likely to be a fault in half-educated persons.

## MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS AND THE *BRUTUS* OF ACCIUS

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Theater-loving Americans are not likely to give the average Roman of the Republic credit for much interest in drama, and it is not until we examine the evidence closely that we discover how large a part in their lives dramatic performances actually played. Horace's imaginary picture of the rude improvised dialogue of the earliest country festivals (*Epist.* II, 1, 139-150) probably had a basis in fact, and, in spite of the skepticism of a generation ago, modern scholars tend to credit Livy's account of the importation into Rome, during a terrible pestilence in 364 B.C., of pantomimic dancers from Etruria (VII,2). We know that the grand celebration at the close of the First Punic War (240 B.C.) was marked by the presentation of two real plays, a comedy and a tragedy, adapted from the Greek; and the records show that from that time on drama had an increasingly important part, not only at the great games in April, July, September, and October of each year, but at times of special rejoicing like the return of a victorious general, or of special sorrow like the funeral of a distinguished citizen. We can even reconstruct the programs of certain years, with the dates on which plays of famous dramatists were presented: the *Stichus* of Plautus at the *Ludi Plebeii* of 200 B.C., celebrating the close of the Second Punic War; the *Thyestes* of Ennius at the *Ludi Apollinares* of 169; the *Andria* of Terence at the *Ludi Megalenses* in 166, the *Hecyra* in 165, the *Heautontimorumenos* in 163, the *Eunuchus* in 161, the *Phormio* at the *Ludi Romani* in 161, and the *Adelphoe* at the funeral games of Lucius Aemilius Paulus in 160.

Toward the end of the Republican period fifty-five days of

each year (an average of nearly five per month) were set aside for the dramatic performances of the regular *ludi*,<sup>1</sup> in addition to performances that might be given at funeral games or on special occasions like the opening of the great stone theater built by Pompey from the spoils of the Mithridatic War, when a series of tragedies and comedies, Atellan farces and mimes, was presented for the entertainment of the populace (cf. Cicero, *Fam.* VII, 1). And the widespread influence of these performances is apparent not only in the size and enthusiasm of the audiences—thronges of people crowding to the theaters and catching up every word spoken on the stage, greeting with rounds of applause any line that seemed to have a bearing on current events—but in the tributes which Cicero pays to actors like Aesopus and Roscius, in the readiness with which scenes and characters in drama come to his mind as illustrations in his speeches and essays, and the frequency with which a line from comedy or tragedy serves to sum up a situation in his familiar correspondence.<sup>2</sup>

Among these dramatic performances, from the time of Naevius on, the *fabula praelecta*, or “play with the crimson stripe,” as the Romans themselves called it, held an important place. The authors of these plays, Horace says with approval (*A.P.* 285–288), dared to leave the path trodden by the Greeks and to present on the stage “things that happened at home” (*domestica facta*). Later Latin writers define these dramas as “containing written records of the deeds of the Romans,” and “representing the activities of generals or of the Roman state and introducing the kings or the leaders of Rome,” and say that they “resemble tragedies in the distinction and loftiness (*dignitate et sublimitate*) of their characters” (Festus 223, ed. Mueller; Diom., *G.L.*, ed. Keil, I, 489, 23–28).<sup>3</sup> The first of these plays was probably staged in the year 222 B.C., and the most notable examples all fall within the next hun-

<sup>1</sup> P. Harvey, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*: Oxford (1937), 249.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. Frank, “The Decline of Roman Tragedy,” in *CLASS. JOURN.* XII (1916), 176–187; “The Status of Actors at Rome,” in *Class. Phil.* XXVI (1931), 11–20; F. W. Wright, *Cicero and the Theater* (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 11, Northampton, Mass., 1931), with the many passages there cited.

<sup>3</sup> On the significance of the name, cf. G. Boissier, “Les fabulae praetextae,” in *Rev. de Phil.* XVII (1893), 101–108; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (München, 1927), I, 140.

dred years, the period that witnessed the thrilling successes of the Second and Third Punic Wars and the tremendous surge of national feeling which found expression in the epics of Naevius and Ennius. These plays were written by men who had already had experience with the technique of Greek drama through their adaptations of Sophocles and Euripides, so that they presumably showed considerable skill in construction. They continued to be acted down to the end of the Ciceronian age, and made such an impression on the Spaniard Lucius Cornelius Balbus that he presented, as part of a program of *ludi* at his native Gades in 43 B.C., a *praetexta* called *Iter* ("The Journey"), dealing with the expedition that Balbus had made to Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium for the purpose of winning over the proconsul Lentulus from Pompey's side to Caesar's. (Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* x, 32, 3.)<sup>4</sup> Sporadic mention of *fabulae praetextae* during the Augustan age and the early Empire shows that they must have been written and performed, or at least read aloud, up to the time of Domitian.<sup>5</sup> One of these plays of the Empire, the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, has survived. Of the great plays of the earlier period only small fragments are left; these come from seven different plays and comprise a total of fewer than sixty lines; but by putting these fragments together and supplementing them with what we know from other sources about the events with which they deal, we can form some idea of the splendid pageantry and dramatic power of *fabulae praetextae* in the Roman Republic.

We may surmise that the earliest of these plays, the *Clastidium* or *Marcellus* of Naevius, was produced at the magnificent festival when Marcus Claudius Marcellus came back from a victory over two Gallic tribes and, for the third and last time in Roman his-

<sup>4</sup> This Balbus, a nephew of the Balbus defended by Cicero, was a personal friend of Lentulus. He showed his interest in drama in the reign of Augustus by building the theater that bore his name.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. K. Meiser, *Über historische Dramen der Römer*, München, 1887; A. Schöne, *Das historische Nationaldrama der Römer*, Kiel, 1893; Boissier, *op. cit.*; Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung* (Stuttgart, 1894), I, 192; II 84-88; Schanz-Hosius, I, 140 f. Ovid, *Fasti* iv, 326, refers to a play on the story of the Vestal Claudia, which may have been given at the *Ludi Megalenses*, when the temple of Cybele, built by Metellus and restored by Augustus, was rededicated.



tory, dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius the *spolia opima* (won in single combat by a Roman general from the general of the enemy); that the play featured the fight between Marcellus and Viridomarus and the taking of the Gallic chieftain's armor, adorned with gold and silver and with richly dyed and embroidered stuffs; and that the soldiers of Marcellus appeared on the stage, as Plutarch tells us they did in the triumphal procession, arrayed in beautiful armor and chanting odes and hymns of victory in honor of the god and their general. The *Ambracia* of Ennius must have pictured the campaign which Ennius himself witnessed as the companion of Marcus Fulvius Nobilior in 189 B.C., when the strongly fortified Aetolian town of that name was taken after fierce fighting on the walls and in the tunnel which the besiegers had hollowed out; and the votive games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus which Fulvius celebrated in 186 B.C., with their spoils of gold crowns weighing 112 pounds, 1083 pounds of silver, 243 pounds of gold, 780 statues of bronze, and 230 marble statues, must have been made all the more splendid by the presentation of Ennius' play. The *Paulus* of Pacuvius probably commemorated the spectacular victory of Lucius Aemilius Paulus over King Perseus of Macedonia at Pydna in 168 B.C., and may have been first produced at the triumphal games of Paulus the following year and repeated at his funeral in 160. The steep, rocky trail described in one of the fragments of the play, "where even a goat could scarcely find a foothold" (Fr. iv), must be the path up Mount Olympus over which Scipio Nasica led a detachment of Roman troops; and the "arrows like falling snow, the hail of lead and stones" (Fr. iii) must refer to the final conflict. Perhaps we are justified, too, in inferring from Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus* that the play also mentioned the eclipse of the moon on the night before the battle, with its terrifying effect on the superstitious Macedonians; that it included a description of the battle-line—tall Thracians in black tunics and gleaming shields and greaves, bearing battle-axes with heavy iron heads; mercenaries with equipment of every sort; young Macedonian warriors with gilded armor and crimson cloaks—and that the final scene showed a dramatic contrast between the noble Roman general and his abject foe. The triumph

of Paulus was celebrated by crowds of people in white garments, who thronged the temples, the streets, and the circuses, who shuddered at the clatter of Macedonian swords and spears heaped on wagons in the triumphal procession, and looked with pity at the little sons and daughter of King Perseus, and with wonder and admiration at Paulus himself, wearing a crimson toga embroidered with gold, and bearing a branch of laurel; and we can imagine that these same emotions—terror, pity, and wondering admiration—swayed the people as they viewed the drama of which Paulus was the hero.<sup>6</sup>

Besides dealing with contemporary history, the writers of *fabulae praetextae* also handled material from the legendary past. The *Romulus* or *Lupus* of Naevius introduced the character of the wicked Amulius, and must have included some account of the miraculous preservation of Romulus and his brother by the wolf. The *Sabine Women* of Ennius evidently centered around the seizure of wives by Romulus and his companions;<sup>7</sup> the *Decius* of Accius celebrated the self-immolation of Publius Decius Mus at the battle of Sentinum in 295 B.C., and recalled the similar act of his father in the Latin War in 340; the *Brutus* of the same author dealt with the expulsion of the Tarquins and the establishment of the Roman Republic.<sup>8</sup>

All these *praetextae* emphasized valiant service to the state, and a number of them seem also to have stressed the continuity of high ideals in certain noble families. To judge from the alternative title *Aeneadae*, Accius' play about Decius not only showed the son following the heroic example of his father, but traced back the ancestry of the Decii to Aeneas, the great model of loyal devotion. The *Paulus* of Pacuvius may also have touched on the ancestry of the Aemilii, for, according to Festus (23, ed. Mueller) this *gens* claimed descent from Aemilius, the son of Ascanius. And it seems

<sup>6</sup> On the occasion and plots of these plays, cf. O. Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie* (Leipzig, 1875), 72-75, 207-211, 326-334; Schanz-Hosius, I, 53, 90, 101. The ancient sources are Plutarch, *Marc.* 6-8; Livy XXXVIII, 4-8; XXXIX, 4-5; Plutarch, *Paul.* 10-27, 32-34.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fr. 1 (from the speech of Hersilia ?) with Livy I, 13.

<sup>8</sup> For the probable contents of these plays, cf. Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, 63-72, 205-207, 586-599.

a reasonable conjecture that Accius wrote the *Brutus* to link up the achievements of his friend Decimus Junius Brutus Gallaeus, consul in 138 B.C. and conqueror of the tribes of Further Spain, with those of the Brutus of Roman legend.

It is to the last-named of these plays, the *Brutus* of Accius, that I wish to give special attention, because it seems to show connections on the one hand with the first book of Livy and on the other with important events of the year 44 B.C.

The German scholar Ranke more than half a century ago suggested that Livy's narrative might owe something to historical plays centering around the great figures of early Rome; and this theory, taken over by other Germans and by at least one American scholar, has formed the basis of much interesting speculation. The stories of the capture of Veii and the journey of the goddess Juno to Rome; of the victory of Horatius over the Curiatii and the slaying of his sister because she mourned a fallen foe; of the treacherous slaughter of the entire Fabian gens, with the exception of one small boy, by the Etruscans in the valley of the Cremera; of the wicked daughter of Servius Tullius, who drove her chariot over her dead father's body, contrived the murder of her husband and sister, and in the end fled from the royal palace, with men and women calling down curses upon her—all these stories have been subjected to careful analysis to show how well suited they are to stage presentation, and how easily they fall into normal dramatic form.<sup>9</sup>

The theory gains some support from certain passages in Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus which mention the "theatrical" character of the material with which they are dealing or comment on its suitability for stage presentation. So Dionysius alludes to critics who considered the story of the wolf and the twins "full of the improbabilities of drama" (I, 84, 1); speaks of the events after the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii as "like a reversal of fortune in the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. S. Duckett, *Studies in Ennius*, "Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series," Vol. xviii: Bryn Mawr, Pa. (1915), 7, with the references there cited. The discussions alluded to in this paragraph are found in K. Meiser and A. Schöne, *op. cit.*, and in O. Ribbeck, "Ein historisches Drama," in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxvi (1881), 321 f.; *Dicht.* i, 190 f.; W. Soltan, "Horatius und Orestes," in *Woch. für kl. Phil.* xxv (1908), 1269-72, and *id.*, *Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtschreibung*: Leipzig, (1909); H. B. Wright, *The Recovery of a Lost Roman Tragedy*: New Haven (1910).

theater" (III, 18, 1); and comments that certain details of the story of the Fabii, "resemble the tales and fictions of the theater" (IX, 22, 3). Livy, after telling of the capture of Veii, adds: "But in events of such antiquity I should be satisfied if stories that have versimilitude are accepted as true; these stories, which are better suited to the stage, delighting as it does in marvels, it is not worth while either to confirm or to deny" (V, 21, 9); and he suggests a parallel between the story of the Tarquins and the royal houses of Thebes and Mycenae in his statement: "For the royal palace of Rome too produced an example of crime fit for the tragic stage" (I, 46, 3).

Even though Livy and the annalists upon whom he drew found native tradition covering these various stories,<sup>10</sup> it is conceivable that their treatment of the material was shaped by the form in which it had already been cast for the stage. This assumption seems especially reasonable in the case of Livy, who had such a keen eye for dramatic situations and such a strong sense of the appeal to the emotions made by a sudden reversal of fortune.<sup>11</sup> Individual sections of his narrative are likely to rise to a climax marked by direct quotation, and he frequently puts a scene before us so vividly that we can see not only the setting but the "business" on the stage—when Tanaquil, for instance, embraces her husband, seated beside her in their carriage, and points to the eagle circling above their heads as an omen of his lofty destiny; or draws Servius Tullius aside, grasps his right hand, and begs him not to allow the death of his father-in-law to go unavenged or his mother-in-law to be a laughing-stock to her enemies; or flings open the window in the upper story of the palace and addresses the people in the *Via Nova* (I, 34, 9 and 41, 2-4).

And however guarded we may be in making claims about Latin dramas whose existence is purely hypothetical, we must recognize that in certain cases Livy's narrative runs parallel to dramas of whose existence we have absolute proof. This is true of Naevius' *Romulus* and Ennius' *Sabinae*, and most notably, of the *Brutus* of

<sup>10</sup> This is the position taken by Miss Duckett, *op. cit.*, 6-22.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. K. Witte, "Über die Form der Darstellung in Livius Geschichtswerk," in *Rhein. Mus.* LXV (1910), 270-305, 359-419; W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*: Stuttgart (1924), 351-369.

Accius. In the closing chapters of Book 1 (56-60) Livy tells how Lucius Junius Brutus, realizing, after the murder of his elder brother by King Tarquin, that his own life was in danger, pretended to be a dullard; he describes Tarquin's siege of Ardea, with the banquets and drinking-bouts that filled the leisure time of the young nobles; reports the conversation in the group that had gathered one evening in the tent of Sextus Tarquinius as to the merits of their respective wives, and their sudden resolve to visit their homes and take their wives unawares, which resulted in clear proof of Lucretia's superiority; tells of the return of Sextus Tarquinius to Lucretia's home, the assault on her chastity, her voluntary death in the presence of her father, her husband, and her husband's friend Brutus; of the inflammatory speech that Brutus made before the people, and finally of the expulsion of the royal family and the election of Brutus and Collatinus as consuls.

Accius' play has come down to us in fragments, but these fortunately include two passages of ten to twelve lines each and three shorter fragments, all of which are relatively easy to fit into the plot. The two long speeches come from a scene between King Tarquin and a seer, presumably in the camp at Ardea. The king's speech, in iambic senarii, tells of a dream in which he saw a beautiful flock of sheep driven toward him; he chose from this two kindred rams and sacrificed the finer of them, whereupon the other turned upon him and felled him to the earth; then, as he lay prone, he saw the blazing orb of the sun rise and move toward his right. The answer of the seer, in the more emotional trochaic septenarii, which would have had a musical accompaniment, gives the interpretation of the dream:

Beware lest he whom you think stupid as the flock prove to have a mind well fortified with wisdom and drive you from your kingdom. The appearance of the sun that you beheld foretells a speedy change of fortune for the nation, and the course of the great sun from left to right means great power for the Roman state. May Heaven prosper this omen for the people! (Fr. 1, 11).

The line of Lucretia quoted by Varro<sup>12</sup> (Fr. v) must come from the scene in which Lucretia tells her husband and father of her

<sup>12</sup> *L. L.* VI, 7 and VII, 72. By some strange error, the line is ascribed to Cassius.



tragic experience, for the words, "In the darkness of night he came to our home," suit the situation in Livy I, 58 perfectly. One of the other fragments, which mentioned "Tullius, who had established liberty for his fellow-citizens," (Fr. iv) probably came from the speech of Brutus to the people, and the other, which defines a consul as "one who counsels rightly" (Fr. III) fits the end of the play.

Since the parallelism of Accius' play and Livy's narrative is so close in other details, it is highly probable that the play also contained the scene in which Brutus drew the dagger from Lucretia's breast, held it aloft, dripping with blood, and took a solemn oath that he would drive out Tarquinius Superbus with his accursed wife and all his children, and would never again suffer them or anyone else to rule in Rome. This moment must have been a well-recognized part of the Brutus-legend, for Servius says that, after the death of Lucretia, Brutus, *rapto ex eius corpore gladio*, went forth to address the people; and Plutarch tells us that the bronze statue of Brutus on the Capitoline represented him with drawn sword (*Brut.* 1, 1).

The *Brutus* of Accius was evidently familiar to Roman audiences of the Ciceronian age, for at the games given by the consul Lentulus in 57 B.C., the actor Aesopus interpolated into another play of Accius the line of the *Brutus* containing the name Tullius; the populace took it as a tribute to Cicero, and, as Cicero reports the incident, Aesopus was forced to repeat the line "a thousand times."<sup>13</sup>

Naturally, the man of the period most interested in this play was Marcus Junius Brutus, who claimed descent on his father's side from the Brutus of early days and on his mother's side from the Servilius Ahala who murdered Spurius Maelius when Maelius was suspected of aspiring to royal power (cf. Cicero, *Cat.* I, 1, 3; Livy IV, 13 f.). In a letter written in the summer of 45 B.C., Cicero told of having seen in the "Parthenon" (apparently a room in Brutus' house) Atticus' "masterpiece," which traced Brutus' line back to the earlier Brutus and Ahala (*Att.* XIII, 40, 1); and a year later he wrote that it was small wonder that Brutus was roused to

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. W. Wright, *op. cit.*, 9.

action against Caesar when he had the *imagines* of these forbears before him every day (Phil. II, 11, 26). Plutarch gives the account, which is taken over in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, of how Brutus' fellow-citizens played on his feeling about his ancestors, writing on the statue on the Capitoline, "Would thou wert here now, Brutus!" and leaving on his praetor's tribunal such messages as "Thou art not truly Brutus" (*Brut.* 9, 3).

It must have seemed to him that he was "truly Brutus" when his dagger touched Caesar's heart; and his conviction that he and his fellow-conspirators had played the part of the earlier Brutus shows in his plan to have the *Brutus* of Accius included in the *Ludi Apollinares* in July of that same year, for the program of which he, as city praetor, was responsible. This play would not only have reminded the Romans that Caesar the tyrant had met an end similar to that of the tyrant Tarquinius, but would have served, as the *Decius* of Accius did, to link the hero of the later generation with his great ancestor in the past, and to keep alive in the minds of the audience the glorious traditions of the family. But by July of 44, Brutus had retired to an island in the Bay of Naples, and his colleague in the praetorship thought it advisable to substitute a play adapted from the Greek (the *Tereus*) for the *fabula praetexta* of Accius. As a matter of fact, Cicero reports that the *Tereus* contained enough lines applicable to the present situation so that Brutus was satisfied with the demonstration that his partisans made. (Cf. Cicero, *Att.* XVI, 5, 1, and 2, 3; *Phil.* I, 15, 36; II, 13, 31; Appian, *B.C.* III, 23 f.)

Another hint that Marcus Junius Brutus had the *Brutus* of Accius in mind in the spring of 44 B.C. is given in Cicero's *Second Philippic*, written in October or November of that year. In this pamphlet Cicero reviews one by one the charges that Antony had brought against him, including the charge of complicity in Caesar's murder. "As proof of this," Cicero represents Antony as saying, "remember what happened at the moment of Caesar's death: Brutus immediately raised aloft his dagger, called upon Cicero by name, and congratulated him that liberty had been recovered." (*Phil.* II, 12, 28). The charge was absolutely without basis, as Cicero goes on to show; but for Brutus himself the action here described

has extraordinary significance. He must have recalled vividly the scene which formed the climax of Accius' play, and with that stage picture in mind, must have consciously assumed the attitude of his great progenitor and spoken words that were an echo of the earlier Brutus' lines.

## HOMER'S TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORY

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For sixty years, ever since the time of Schliemann's first victories, the relation between Homer and Homer's poems on the one hand and the disciplines of history and archaeology on the other hand has been the object of incessant study and controversy. It was only natural that Schliemann's successful defiance of a great body of contemporary learned opinion should cause historians and archaeologists to regard the Homeric poems as a treasure-house of facts appropriate to their purposes. Perrot and Chipiez, for example, writing in 1894, said:<sup>1</sup>

Are the Greeks of the classical age direct descendants of the creators of Mycenaean civilization? . . . This hypothesis becomes even more probable when one studies the Homeric poems in the light of recent discoveries. The *Iliad* is one of the epics which are called historical, because, like the *Chanson de Roland*, they envelop a kernel of history concealed beneath the rich and marvellous tissue woven by the imagination of the poet.

More recently, this treatment of the poems has become habitual. Gilbert Murray, in his fascinating *Rise of the Greek Epic*, says: "One of the last letters which I received from Andrew Lang before his death contained the words 'The next thing Homeric critics will go mad about is historicity' "; and Murray's chapter on the "Background of the *Iliad*" is perhaps a partial verification of Lang's prophecy, as for example in the passage which deals with the slaying of Tlepolemus of Rhodes by the Lycian Sarpedon.<sup>2</sup> Murray asserts<sup>3</sup> that these verses are "a foreign insertion," and that "a local legend of battle between the Rhodian and the Lycian has been torn up from its natural context and inserted

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Art*, VI, 986.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* v, 627-698.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 219.

into the midst of the fighting about Troy." In this way, a "song" has been converted into "a fragment of the history of Rhodes and Lycia." On a larger scale, the attitude of the modern historian is illustrated by Robert Cohen in his excellent manual, *La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique* (1934), 39:

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* still remain, for the investigators of our time, an incomparable stock of information of all sorts. . . . Thus, by the best of good fortune, the epic is not a single document of a fixed period; it is a collection of documents chosen by the poet among the memories of half a millennium.

Scholars who do much of their work upon an archaeological basis tend to use similar methods; a good example is to be found in Martin P. Nilsson's interesting treatise on *Homer and Mycenae* (1933), which insists that the Homeric poems are full of "datable elements."<sup>4</sup> He writes:

Whenever datable elements in Homer, whether from the Mycenaean or from the historical epochs, were discussed, the opposing views, one of which strove to push Homer back into the Mycenaean Age, the other to push him forward as late as possible in the Historical Age, obscured the issue. . . . Neither of these two methods is the right one. . . . What we have to do, as is our plain duty if we wish to proceed in the spirit of unbiassed science, is simply to try to discern and to state the cases which can be dated unquestionably or with tolerable certainty. . . . The result is certainly embarrassing, viz., that elements from widely different ages appear together in Homer.

After a careful study of "elements deriving from the Geometric and the Orientalizing periods," Nilsson concludes that (p. 130) "we have made out four passages only certainly referring to archaic times: the head-dress of Andromache, the plaits of Euphorbos, the cuirass given to Agamemnon by King Cinyras, and the brooch of Odysseus." And he goes on to say that "the unitarians ought to [believe that these four passages are due to later remodelling or to interpolation], for a flat denial of the late age of these descriptions will not do."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> P. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Nilsson argues that the brooch (*Od.* XIX, 226) is a "complex form belonging to the seventh century B.C. at earliest"; that the cuirass given to Agamemnon (*Il.* XI, 20) has cyanus snakes on it, and that snakes were not used for decorative purposes in Minoan-Mycenaean art, but "only in representations of religious scenes," whereas they "are common on Geometric vases"; that the head-dress of Andromache (*Il.* XXII, 468)



What has been the effect of these methods upon the study of Homer and of Greek history? Under the influence of the twin beliefs that the poems are essentially a collection of historical documents, adorned or perverted by mythology and poetic fancy, and that there are elements in the poems which can be dated "in the spirit of unbiassed science," by the comparison of objects described by Homer with other and rather more material objects which have been found by excavators, some simple and fundamental facts, which are really facts of history, have been almost completely obscured. It is impossible to understand the relation between Homer's poems and Greek history or pre-historic archaeology unless we include within our survey some facts about poetry and some facts about history, all of which are properly part of Greek history. And due recognition of these facts will demand, I believe, a profound change in our present careless and unscientific methods.

The first fact about the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to which I would call your attention is that these poems are neither history nor a collection of documents for history; they are literature of the first rank, they are great poems, and to refuse in the name of unbiassed science to treat them as what they are, as if unbiassed science were incapable of recognizing the difference between a great imaginative work and a stupid uninspired and superstitious chronicle, is to do an injustice to unbiassed science. The quality of a poem is just as much a fact as the quantity of a poem. Since these poems are great imaginative works, the world which they portray is Homer's, or somebody's, imaginative construction of the setting, social and economic, religious and secular, in which Homer judged it proper that his characters should live. And we all know that Homer explicitly stated that the poems refer to an

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included a veil, "never worn by Mycenaean ladies"; and that the plaited hair of Euphorbos (*Il.* xvii, 52) must point to the Archaic Age, "for Mycenaean men did not wear plaits." It seems fairly clear that Nilsson has totally failed to distinguish between a brooch, or a veil, or a snake, that has been imagined and described in verse by a poet and the brooches that have been found by excavators. It should be noticed that it is technically much easier for the poet to imagine a complicated work of art than for the craftsman to execute such a design. Consider the animated handmaidens of gold in *Iliad* xviii, 418.

age long past, the age when the Greek heroes lived and fought at Troy. The use that Homer made of his knowledge of the Greek past is not in the least the use that a historian would have made; he uses his realistic setting to fascinate the hearer into accepting a story, which is almost pure fiction, of the deeds and sufferings of heroes who are distinctly superhuman and of gods who are also superhuman, but who by a cruel fate have been criticized by unbelievers, from Xenophanes and Plato on to Gilbert Murray, for being most excessively human and all too real.

This superhuman status of all the principal characters in Homer's poems is the second fact to which I would call your attention; and it is not a bit less important because the manuals and monographs of the last thirty years have pretty consistently failed to mention it. Welcker and K. O. Müller long ago started the theory that each Homeric hero represented a tribe, and that the heroes were in general tribal gods who had faded from divinity down into humanity, and that by using this clue the combats of the heroes in the poems could be reconverted into the history of tribal wars and wanderings; this theory of the *verblässte Götter* managed to hold the field until it was finally destroyed by the excellent studies of Foucart and Farnell in our own time. But the faded-gods theory was destroyed without being replaced; and most histories of Greek literature and of Greek religion have proceeded on the naïve assumption that the heroes of Homer were mere men and of merely human religious status, although this assumption is contradicted by practically every line of Homer and by all subsequent Greek religious history. If the heroes of Homer were mere men, or mere human kings and princes, it is obvious that the relation between the poems and history would no longer be a puzzle; the poems would be little more than a bad history of some scenes in the end of the Mycenaean age, disfigured by the irrelevant and mechanical intervention of a multitude of gods. And this desperate conclusion has actually been maintained by excellent historians and archaeologists simply because they could not bring themselves to read the poems in the light of the history of Greek religious beliefs, and to take seriously a faith which was not their own.

The superhuman status of the Homeric heroes is a cardinal article of the religion of Homer and of his Greek audience, no less than it was of subsequent Greeks from the eighth century B.C. to the fifth. In the universal Greek acceptance, *hero* does not mean "illustrious warrior" or "chief man in poem, play or story"; it is a special designation applied only to those human beings who have for one reason or another been raised, by the operation of Greek religious faith, above the ordinary human status to a semi-divine status. Throughout Greek history the belief in heroes and the cult of heroes persisted; they were worshiped, as a rule, only after their death, though the degenerate Greeks of later days were capable of offering full divine honors to successful generals and rulers who were still living. Within their semi-divine status there was room for many different types and ranks; but the greatest of all the groups of heroes was the group which particularly concerns us, the heroes who were derived from the great Mycenaean.

By the tenth or ninth century B.C., the leaders of the Mycenaean had been collectively heroized by the Greeks of the Iron Age for two reasons: first, because of their superior civilization and their greatness in war, particularly displayed in the magnificent though partially ruined palaces and fortresses they had left behind them, and in their conquest of one of the wealthiest and strongest coast states in Asia Minor; and second, because they were Greek heroes, the ancestors of many of the leading Greeks of the Iron Age. Their hold upon Greek belief is demonstrated not only by their widespread cult, but also by the fact that both the epic and the tragic poetry is almost wholly devoted to them, to their relations with each other and with the gods; and the poems of Homer become incomprehensible if we forget that the religious status of the heroes and their superhuman powers are taken for granted throughout both of Homer's poems.

The consequences of these two facts, first that the poems are an imaginative construction, and second that the heroes are not mere Mycenaean kings but are elevated above human status by the religious beliefs of Homer and the rest of the Greeks, are visible throughout the poems; and I can only enumerate a few of them which bear directly upon the subject of Homer's transformation

of history. Let us drop so far as possible any modern theological prepossessions that we may have, temporarily, and try to put ourselves in Homer's place, in order to see how these Greek religious beliefs must have influenced and to some extent conditioned his mind and his creative work.<sup>6</sup> In the *Iliad* Homer tells the essentially dramatic, essentially tragic, story of the anger of Achilles, of his quarrel with Agamemnon, and of the sufferings shared by both Greeks and Trojans as the direct result of that quarrel, until the action is closed by the restoration of Hector's body to Priam and the funeral of Hector. The *Odyssey*, much less tragic in manner, begins with the divine council and its decision to favor the return of Odysseus, and ends, after many adventures, with the success of Odysseus in killing the suitors and regaining his wife and his kingdom. These heroes not only associate familiarly with gods and goddesses, but miracles are performed for them daily by their divine kin, and the action of the gods is carried by Homer into every corner of the universe. The general direction along which Homer worked was furnished to him by the common religious faith which he shared with his people; the concrete realization and the rich detail are the result of his own poetic imagination and of his own personal choice.

Let me give one illustration. When Homer says in the first lines of the *Iliad* that the wrath of Achilles and the consequent death of many heroes were in fulfilment of "the will of Zeus," which here means Destiny, he is speaking in terms of the common faith; but when Homer narrates the marvelous scene<sup>7</sup> in which the divine River, Scamander, "comes alive" and puts Achilles to flight, Homer is creating a new world which no one else could see until Homer had seen it.

The real difference, therefore, between the historic Mycenaean age and Homer's treatment of the Heroic age is a qualitative difference, which cannot be measured in percentages. The poems are a transformation and transfiguration of reality; no one can walk into the world of the poems as if it were a museum and select

<sup>6</sup> It makes no difference, so far as this argument is concerned, whether we believe in one Homer or in a multitude of anonymous little poets. The exalted status of the heroes is uniformly maintained throughout the poems.

<sup>7</sup> Book XXI.

from it various items of things placed on exhibition and arrange them to suit himself. Those who would gain admission to this world can only do so, however imperfectly, by following the mind and purpose of its creator.

Let me trace, in bare outline, a few more of the consequences which flow from the two facts of which I have been speaking. Next below the gods, in rank and power, come the heroes, and Homer represents them as endowed with energy but little inferior to that of the gods. The superhuman beauty of Helen starts the war; ordinary human beauty is lessened by the passage of time; but even in the tenth year of the war, and though they are old men, the Trojan elders say, "Small blame that the Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans suffer so long for a woman of such beauty." Menelaus, Helen's legitimate husband, owes the promise of a happy immortality in the Elysian plain to the fact that the gods recognize him as the son-in-law of Zeus:<sup>8</sup>

For you, O divinely fostered Menelaus, it is not the decree of the gods that you die and come upon fate in Argos, pasture-land of horses, but to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth the gods will escort you, where fair-haired Rhadamanthus is, where life is most easy for mankind; no snow, no great storms nor ever rain, but constantly Oceanus sends forth the breezes of clear-sounding Zephyrus to refresh men; because you possess Helen and are the son of Zeus by marriage.

As with Helen, so with Agamemnon and Achilles. The commander-in-chief of the Greek army insults a priest of the high god Apollo and exposes himself and his army to the god's anger in order that he may retain a single female captive, Chryseis; and when Calchas reveals the source of the pestilence sent by Apollo, Agamemnon manages to insult Achilles, his greatest subordinate, and so brings on the ruinous wrath. Now commanders-in-chief are notoriously likely to be stupid, and have often been greedy; but it is only fair to say that the stupidity and greed of Agamemnon are superhuman, and so is the wrath of Achilles. Who but the son of a goddess would have dared to begin a speech to his commanding general with the words, "Thou heavy with wine, thou with

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* iv, 561-569.



face of dog and heart of deer . . ."? And the complaint of the dishonored Achilles is laid before the supreme god Zeus, who takes part, along with his family, in all the subsequent action. When Achilles abstains from fighting, he subtracts from the available Greek forces only one-fortieth of their total; the Greeks still have about twice the Trojan numbers; but their strength is so diminished by the loss of Achilles that within eight days they are being driven back in rout to their ships.

In like manner, the *Odyssey* displays the superhuman courage, skill, and wit of a hero about whom the gods hold councils. Odysseus is so attractive that goddesses try to detain him and promise him immortality, and that his own wife waits for him twenty years; Penelope's faithfulness is in its way as eloquent a proof of the charm of Odysseus as the remark of the elder Trojans was of Helen's beauty. And when Odysseus has slain the suitors, it takes the intervention of Athena and of Zeus to arrest his anger and to establish a covenant of peace between him and the kin of the suitors.

This part of the argument tends to show, I believe, even without further expansion, that the heroes, as presented by Homer, are not identical with the Mycenaeans out of whom they were created, and that the so-called Heroic age is essentially a religious fiction. Homer achieved the artistic victory of making this fiction seem real by his skill in creating and selecting the details of the scene in which his characters move and act. To begin with, many of the heroes, perhaps nearly all of them, have the names of real men; and Homer takes pains to introduce them and to furnish them with local habitations in the famous catalogues of Greeks and Trojans and Trojan allies in the Second Book of the *Iliad*. In the ninth century B.C. there were plenty of actual descendants of great Mycenaean families still living; and the traditions concerning their power and their holdings in the thirteenth century were not only accessible to Homer but reasonably accurate. The Catalogues are therefore poetical restatements of those facts of Mycenaean times which Homer considers relevant to his poetical purpose; their presence in the *Iliad* gives us some historical information, but does not convert the *Iliad* into a historical docu-

ment. In the second place, the Greeks of those days had in all likelihood fought a war against Troy; and soon after the war a period of political trouble had ensued. So far Homer could claim that he had adhered to the facts. But from this point on Homer begins to invent, to select, to exclude; and he exploited his knowledge of past and present as if his one purpose had been to dress his invented story in just enough plain reality to make it pass without protest.

For example, Homer was in all probability familiar with the real plain of Troy; and he used just enough of his knowledge to convey the illusion of real armies fighting in a real plain. It is therefore wasteful and unmethodical to spend time calculating in how many rows the Achaean fleet must have been drawn up to fit the available space, and how subsistence could have been provided for one hundred thousand Achaean troops. One might as well argue that Homer must have made a mistake in supposing that the real river Scamander "sent forth a voice" to rebuke Achilles for choking him with dead bodies.

It is, I conclude, impossible to discover exactly, or with any real approximation to certainty, the extent of Homer's knowledge about Mycenaean political and economic history. The conduct that Homer attributes to the great king Agamemnon and to the lesser kings, to the army and to the popular assemblies, is fictitious conduct; it was invented by Homer to exhibit what such heroes would have said and done to each other and to ordinary men under the given conditions. It therefore differs from any and all actual historical conduct; and there is no magic, nor is there any scientific method, by which the exact extent of the difference can be measured. The real difference between the text of Homer and a historical text is a difference of quality, created by the obvious difference between the purpose and the procedure of a man who composes an *Iliad* and the purpose of a historian, who wishes to record what actually happened. Scholars have waged battles over the position of Agamemnon: was he merely an aristocratic commander-in-chief of the allied Greek troops, or was he a great king like the old Scandinavian kings (Nilsson's theory)? And the portrait of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* has been adduced as evidence in

favor of the various theories. But the position of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* is that of a king who was also a hero, kin of the gods, a status created by popular faith operating on tradition; and the interpretation of his conduct cannot be scientific unless it takes into account these factors along with the creative ingenuity of the poet. It is therefore not an easy task to deduce the historic Agamemnon from the Agamemnon of the poems.

The same conclusion holds concerning the use made by Homer of archaeological facts. He selected and arranged his knowledge of customs and of the material accompaniments of Greek life, in the field or at home or on the sea, within the continuous whole of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*, in such a way as to secure the maximum illusion of reality for poems which constantly depart from reality. The degree to which Homer succeeded in making the Heroic age coincide, so far as a large part of its material equipment is concerned, with the material remains of the Mycenaean age, receives eloquent testimony from the examination of the available evidence by Nilsson. Apart from such controversial topics as burial customs, Nilsson was able to indicate as "datable elements" deriving from the Geometric or Orientalizing period a veil, a cuirass, a brooch, some plaits in Euphorbos's hair, and the Phoenician activities in trade; and that was all. I have already referred to the error involved in the identification of objects described by a poet with objects dug up or found or purchased by an archaeologist; and as for Phoenician traders, Nilsson admits their presence in the Aegean in the tenth century B.C.,<sup>9</sup> which is at least a century before the probable date of Homer. But the Egyptian documents, and the carrying-trade in which Phoenicians engaged under Egyptian protection, were treated as matters of fact by J. H. Breasted in dealing with the time of Amenhotep III (ca. 1411 B.C.); Breasted wrote that "the routes of commerce on the Mediterranean [were] thickly dotted with the richly laden galleys of Phoenicia."

The poems of Homer are not historical chronicles out of which the zealous historian can extract information at his pleasure, nor

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 134.

are they museums or deposits of material remains which can be studied by the archaeologist as if the poems were catalogues. The historian or archaeologist who approaches the poems without full recognition of the relevant facts of Greek hero-worship, and of the interval which must have elapsed before the leading Mycenaeans were transformed by faith as well as by poetic imagination into the heroes who appear in the poems, is disqualified from speaking in the name of unbiassed science. By proper methods a considerable amount of historical information can be derived from the text of Homer with plausibility, if not with complete certainty; and the success with which the poems render the general "archaeological" atmosphere of the end of the Mycenaean age entitles the archaeologist to illuminate the meaning of details so far as our imperfect knowledge permits.

It was only natural that the zeal of our specialists, be they philologists, historians, or archaeologists, should have led them far too frequently to proceed as if the Homeric poems were a *rudis indigestaque moles*. But in so doing they have tried, quite unconsciously and with the best intentions, to break the spiritual law which decrees that no human speech or communication, in prose or in verse, shall have any real meaning for those who fail to pay attention to the whole, or for those who are bored and inattentive whenever an author says something which is foreign to their personal and private interests. The poems respond to such students by promptly falling into fragments; they decay into masses of unrelated symbols. It is therefore the duty of the historian and of the archaeologist to expand their definitions of history to include the history of Greek religion and of Greek poetry; it will then become clear that Homer's transformation of history is founded upon Greek hero worship, and that the Homeric poems deliberately and on the whole successfully suppress the post-Mycenaean aspect of Greece, and magnify the glory of the heroes in a most unhistorical but most poetical manner.

## Notes

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[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

### A MODERN HISTORIAN ON THE VALUE OF THE CLASSICS

Readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL may be interested in the following excerpts from Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Ancient Classics in a Modern Democracy*: New York, Oxford University Press (1939).<sup>1</sup> Professor Morison is the noted historian of Harvard University who has been prominent in the news recently as an investigator of the voyages of Christopher Columbus. The essay from which the quotations have been taken was composed originally as a commencement address delivered at the College of Wooster in June, 1938.

I never taught Latin or Greek. As an historian of the United States, I have found them of no practical or immediate use. Yet the years I spent on the ancient classics in school have been the foundation of my education. Moreover, they have given me more delight, and certainly afforded me more wisdom, than anything else that I have since learned. As I advance in age, the thought and the literature of the ancients seem to push through all the accumulations of the last thirty years, and to speak directly to the soul, with their original freshness and simplicity. Life is infinitely sweeter for what little I can apprehend of the grandeur that was Rome, and the glory that was Greece. [Pp. 9 f.]

In talking this subject over with young people, I find many who agree that a classical education is desirable; but, they ask, "Where's the time? There are so many other things to learn!" I admit that for the average American student, whose education is to terminate at the age of sixteen or thereabouts, the little Latin he might acquire before that age had perhaps better be sacrificed for something more immediately useful. There is no place for Latin in any vocational secondary course, unless in a Catholic seminary. But for a student going on to college, and still more, for a collegian destined to enter the law, medicine, teaching, or some other learned profession, the ancient languages save time instead of losing it.

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to the Oxford University Press for permission to reprint these paragraphs.



They save time, because the knowledge of an organic, highly inflected language like Latin, with constant translation from it, is the best way of learning English grammar and English composition. Did it ever occur to you that the greatest masters of English prose and poetry, English and American, never studied English at school or college? That Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Macaulay, studied Latin seven years in grammar school, but never spent an hour on English grammar and composition in their lives? That the author of the Declaration of Independence owed the transparent clarity, the exceptional vigor, the classical dignity, of his English style to his study of Latin and Greek? That the great parliamentary and pulpit orators of the nineteenth century: Clay, Calhoun, and Webster; Canning, Pitt, and Gladstone; Beecher, Channing, and Brooks; owed their eloquence to a study of classical, not English rhetoric? That Emerson owed the crisp sententiousness, the precise choice of words, that distinguishes his English style, to ancient models? That Henry Thoreau was a good classical scholar before he published a line of English? And, finally, that it was in the school of classical belles-lettres, not by study of English composition, that Woodrow Wilson acquired that style in his state papers that so nobly expressed, twenty years ago, the aspirations of millions of men and women? If your ambition be the ability to "put it across" in your mother tongue, the longest way round, by Rome and Greece, is the shortest way to your home audience. [Pp. 12 f.]

It is often said that the classics are all very well for an aristocratic society, but are not to be cultivated in a democracy, because other things are more important for the average boy, and because their acquisition marks off those so educated as a separate caste. Now, let us admit at once that other things are more important nowadays for the average American, who will end his formal education at the age of sixteen or eighteen. Latin Grammar is a *pons asinorum* for certain minds, more effective than the Fifth Proposition of Euclid; many otherwise intelligent young people can make nothing of it. But it seems to me a perverted logic to deny the classics to *some* because they are beyond attainment for *all*. Yet that is what many progressive educators today advocate. They would keep school studies so easy, so elementary, that no child in full possession of his faculties would fail; and for the morons they make a laudable provision of special classes, so that they won't go out in life with an inferiority complex, while providing nothing to challenge the admiration and stimulate the ability of a gifted young person. This levelling down is the inversion of true democracy, which implies a levelling up.

Thomas Jefferson never expected education to produce equality; on the contrary: "It becomes expedient for the publick happiness," he wrote, "that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue should be rendered by a liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens; and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other

accidental condition or circumstance." In other words, Jefferson's educational object was to create an intellectual aristocracy, by taking the most gifted young men, irrespective of their parents' wealth or social station, and giving them a liberal education—an education of which the classics and ancient history were the core—that they might be the more fit to govern America, to embellish her cities with beautiful buildings, and to write a national literature. And in all his schemes of education, the classics were central. He himself was an excellent classical scholar. At the age of fifty-six, when Vice-President of the United States, he wrote: "To read the Latin and Greek authors in their original, is a sublime luxury. . . . I thank on my knees, Him who directed my early education, for having put into my possession this rich source of delight; and I would not exchange it for anything which I could then have acquired, and have not since acquired." A young man who visited Jefferson at Monticello when the sage was eighty-two years old recorded that he rode horseback ten or twelve miles a day, spent several hours on the business of the University, and passed his leisure reading Greek. Jefferson is a good enough democrat for me! [Pp. 17 f.]

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*AENEID IX*, 184 f.

Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,  
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?

Nisus here poses the problem of motivation of action, is it divine or psychological? An answer to a similar problem is offered in *James I*, 13 f. "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, and he himself tempteth no man: but each man is tempted when he is drawn away by his own lust and enticed." (The Vulgate gives *concupiscentia* for the Greek *ἐπιθυμία*, translated "lust" in this passage.)

The Roman is in doubt whether it is the divine power that is urging to good; the Christian is certain that it is not the divine power that is urging to evil. This seems a very definite theological advance.

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HORACE, *EPISTLES* I, 2, 30-31 ONCE MORE

Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et  
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.

I would translate: "Whose concept of smartness was to lie abed until midday and to identify boredom with the stilling of the zither's din." *Cessatum* goes with *strepitum* in the *ab urbe condita* construction. Note the same words in *Odes* III, 19, 18-23:

Cur Berecynthiae  
cessant flamina tibiae?

. . . . .

audiat invidus  
dementem strepitum Lycus.

*Ducere* is used like *referre*, as in Lewis and Short II, B, 4, b, where examples abound. The reference is to *Odyssey* VIII, 248 f.:

Αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαῖς τε φίλη κίθαρις τε χοροὶ τε  
εἰματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

The hot baths and frequent changes of clothing are echoed by *in cute curanda*, and *εὐναί* is expanded into *in medios dormire dies*. The second line of Horace quoted above is the boast of Alcinous ironically reversed.

While I regret to differ with my friend Professor Johnson,<sup>1</sup> it is always an unholy joy to support the manuscripts against the tigerish Bentley, the fiendish Housman, and even the pious Dean Wickham, who writes: "There is nothing in the text of Homer to account for it." None of them rightly understood those Pheacian "jitter bugs" for whom all the joy went out of life when the orchestra stopped playing.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXV (1940), 357-359.

TIBERIUS AND THE CULT OF THE  
DIOSCURI AT TUSCULUM

In 1892 there were discovered at Vigna Campoli, on Colle Spinetta, north of Frascati, some lead pipes bearing the names of Tiberius and his mother (*CIL* xv, 7814 = *Ephem. Epigr.* ix, 700) which identified beyond doubt the site of the emperor's Tusculan villa (Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xviii, 6, 6; Dio lviii, 24). As the name of Livia is given as Iulia Augusta, the pipes must have been laid some time after her adoption into the *gens Iulia* in A.D. 14 and before her death fifteen years later. According to Dio, the emperor spent some time at the villa in the years A.D. 33-34. Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 1) speaks of his stay in gardens near the Tiber in A.D. 32 but does not mention the Tusculan villa in this connection nor when he mentions a similar visit to the vicinity of Rome in the year 35 (*Ann.* vi, 39).

Confirmation of Dio's statement is to be found in two Tusculan inscriptions (*CIL* xiv, 2591-2592). The first is a statue base, now at the Villa Ruffinella, in Frascati, and thus probably found in or near the Tusculan forum. It is fragmentary, but the name of the emperor has been restored by Dessau and the date of the erection falls between July 1, 29 and January 1, 31, although Dessau dates the stone less exactly in A.D. 30-31. If he is right in showing the number of the tribuniciate as xxxi[i], then we can limit the period still further to the second half of A.D. 30. No statue was found with the base, but I believe that a statue of Tiberius, standing, clad in a breastplate with Gorgon's head and griffins (?), now in the Castello di Agliè, near Turin, is that which originally belonged to the base. The head was found about 1807 by Lucien Bonaparte and the body by Canina in the theater a century ago. As the name of the emperor is not actually preserved in the inscription, it was perhaps not strange that the excavators of the statue failed to connect it with the base.

The other inscription is a fragmentary *epistylum*, or architectural piece, and records the dedication of some structure, perhaps the headquarters of the Tusculan *collegium iuvenum*,<sup>1</sup> to Tiberius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. L. Mohler, "The Iuvenes and Roman Education," *TAPA* lxviii (1937), 442-479; M. Della Corte, *Iuventus*: Arpino (1925).

by the *curator lusus [iuvenalis]*, L. Priscus Filius. This inscription may be dated in the year beginning July 1, A.D. 32.<sup>2</sup>

While it is well within the range of possibility that the inhabitants of any Roman *municipium*, such as Tusculum, might have erected a statue of a reigning emperor or other dedication to him, without thereby implying that he was a resident of their territory, the known fact that Tiberius did possess a villa in the *ager Tusculanus* at this time makes it extremely likely that the dedications mentioned were made when the emperor was actually in residence at his *Tusculanum*. The reference to the villa in Josephus is not, unfortunately, dated, but its position in the narrative indicates that Tiberius was at the villa not a great while before his death. We therefore have evidence tending to show the emperor's presence at the villa, at least intermittently, in the years 29 to 34 and perhaps still later, even though Tacitus' statements as to his presence in the Campagna in these years merely allude to gardens near the Tiber.

Professor Kenneth Scott has shown<sup>3</sup> that in the popular imagination certain of the members of the imperial family, particularly Tiberius and his brother Drusus, were associated or identified with Castor and Pollux. In view of Tiberius' connection with Tusculum, it therefore becomes interesting to find that at Tusculum the cult of the emperors was associated with that of the Dioscuri.<sup>4</sup> The evidence for this is to be found in two inscriptions (*CIL* xiv,

<sup>2</sup> In 1828 Biondi found near the west end of Tusculum a headless, seated statue which seemed to him similar to certain statues of Tiberius recently discovered. He therefore added a head of Tiberius to the piece and believed that he had thus identified Tiberius' villa. See the discussion of the statue in my book, *A History of Ancient Tusculum*: Washington, American Documentation Institute (1939), 123-125. Cf. also T. Ashby, *Papers of the British School at Rome* v (1910), 344; L. Canina, *Descrizione dell' Antico Tuscolo*: Rome (1841), 139, Tav. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> "Drusus, nicknamed 'Castor,'" *Classical Philology* xxv (1930), 155-161, and "The Dioscuri and the Imperial Cult," *ibid.* 379 f.

<sup>4</sup> This was a prominent cult at Tusculum, if not the chief one. Cf. M. Albert, "Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie," *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* xxxi (Paris, 1883), 8-20 (to be used with caution); Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lexicon*, i, 1, s.v. "Dioscuri"; Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* ix, 1087-1123; Vaglieri in De Ruggiero, *Dizionario* ii, 1, 132; and pp. 78-81 of my book cited above. The cult of Jupiter, while very prominent at Tusculum, to judge from the literary references to it, is not attested by inscriptions.



2620, 2637). The first gives the names of a number of men who bore the cost of some sort of monument. They were joined in this undertaking by other persons, whose names are omitted, but who are described as *Augustales (et) aeditui [Castoris et] Pollucis*.<sup>5</sup> Dessau denies that these *Augustales* could be the persons whose names are given above the title, but there seems to be reasonable doubt about this point, since one of the men was a M. Tusculanius, *cognomen* omitted or lost (it is difficult to tell which), who may have been the same man as M. Tusculanius Amianthus, mentioned in *CIL* xiv, 2637, as a *magister aedituum Castoris et Pollucis Augustalium*.

The date of these two inscriptions is unknown, but must, of course, be later than the death of Augustus in A.D. 14. As most of the names are without *cognomina*, I am inclined to put the stone in the first century. Although Tiberius was reluctant to permit any worship of himself in connection with the imperial cult, at least in the West, it seems to be possible that the Tuscans thought of his association with the Dioscuri when they united the cult of the emperor to that of Castor and Pollux. Moreover, it is possible that the connection of the two cults at Tusculum did not begin until after his death. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the importance of the Dioscuri at Tusculum may furnish sufficient reason for associating the imperial worship with them.<sup>6</sup> A parallel may be found in the cult of Hercules at Tibur with which the imperial cult at that town was joined.<sup>7</sup>

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#### MODERN SCAEVOLAE

Livy tells (ii, 12 f.) how C. Mucius, later called Scaevola, planned to assassinate the exiled Tarquin but by mistake killed a secretary. When he was threatened with torture, Mucius scornfully thrust his

<sup>5</sup> Although the fragmentary stone was never seen at or near Tusculum, the considerations which led Dessau to assign it to Tusculum are completely convincing.

<sup>6</sup> Yet the cult of Jupiter was not chosen.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* xiv, p. 254; 3675, 3679-3681. Cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, iv, 2350, s.v. "Augustales."

own hand into the fire and held it there as if he felt no pain (*velut alienato ab sensu animo*).

In *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1939, p. 636, George W. Gray, writing on "The Control of Pain," says:

In 1932 a boy of three years was under treatment for various childhood ailments at the Harriet Lane Home of the Johns Hopkins Hospital when one of the staff noticed numerous scars on his hands, legs, and body. The mother explained that many of these markings could be accounted for by the child's practice of picking up hot plates from the kitchen stove. He never cried or showed any signs of pain when he burned himself. . . . Tests made on this boy, and repeated at intervals up to 1937, demonstrated a complete insensitivity to experimental pain. . . .

Since the chance discovery of this boy's peculiarity, two similar cases among children have come to Johns Hopkins: . . . each had a consistent record of indifference to such experience as burns, cuts, bruises, sand in the eye, broken bones, and other injuries: and in experiments each submitted to normally painful treatment without showing any evidence that it hurt. . . .

Drs. Frank R. Ford and Lawson Wilkins, who conducted the tests, conclude that the three children are not bereft of pain receptors, but that their indifference is rather the result of a "congenital defect of development involving in a selective manner the neural mechanisms concerned in reaction to pain, and comparable perhaps to color blindness, congenital word deafness, and congenital word blindness."

Is the Spartan boy who died rather than reveal the fox he had stolen (cf. Plutarch's *Lycurgus*) not really an example of the effectiveness of Spartan education, but merely a case of degeneracy?

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## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WRIGHT, F. A., *Three Roman Poets: Plautus, Catullus, Ovid; Their Lives, Times, and Works*: E. P. Dutton and Co. Pp. xi+268. \$2.65.

The title of this book tends to stir one's attention; the addition "of the three most amusing of the Latin Poets" on the jacket, tends to pique one's interest.

In the author's brief Preface he says in defense of his choice of Latin poets, "In some moods laughter seems the greatest gift of heaven, and then we must turn to Plautus, Catullus, and Ovid. They write firstly to please themselves, and then to please their readers; moral uplift they leave to others; they are content if they make their readers smile." The present reviewer admits everything but the "smile," but realizes that the book is written wholly for the British.

The author gives 46 pages to Plautus, 100 pages to Catullus, and 120 pages to Ovid. Nearly half the book is devoted to the life and times of his three chosen poets, and although there is little that is new, the accounts are very readable and interesting, even if a bit wordy. A great many pages are given to the author's own translations, which in general are pretty well done, at times are even clever. One from Ovid's *Preface* is first rate:

It may be in the days of old,  
When Tatius was king,  
That Sabine wives their husbands told  
They did not care for silks or gold  
Or any costly thing.

It may be then they loved to sit  
At home on stools all day,  
And some would sew, and some would knit,  
And some do wool work, bit by bit,  
To pass the hours away.

But 'tis not so with modern girls  
Who in fine clothes delight;  
They deck their hair in loops and curls  
With diamond pins and ropes of pearls:  
And for these girls I write.

To be told facts that one already knows is usually advantageous. The author notes Plautus' use of alliteration and assonance; he says Plautus' metres were all Greek except his own iambic octonarii; and that Plautus had to use colloquial Latin, as there was no literary language yet in existence, and that therefore he had to adapt his Latin to Greek metre. From the section on Catullus it is evident that the author has never seen or read the short, authoritative and charming introduction to *The Poems of Catullus* by one of our American scholars, Walton B. McDaniel, II, (New York, Oxford University Press [1931]).

The book has, *me iudice*, overmany comparisons with British writers; overlarge use of "may," "perhaps," and "probably"; overforcing of the Latin idea of being "amusing"; but it is worth having and quite worth reading. The historical sidelights, combined with many a neat shaft shot at the customs of the times, enliven the opinions, critical or appreciative, of the author on three poets greatly admired and read in the United States: Plautus, Catullus, and Ovid.

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*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XLVIII: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 208.

The forty-eighth volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* contains six essays, with a summary of a doctoral dissertation, *De Licentiis Metricis quae in Canticis Sophocleis Reperiuntur*, by Herrick M. Macomber, and a General Index.

The first of the essays, "Pindar, *Pythian II*," is by C. M. Bowra. The second *Pythian* is notoriously "full of mysteries," uncertainties as to date, occasion, place, and interpretation. Was the victory of Hiero that inspired the ode won at the Olympian, the *Pythian*, the *Nemean*, or the *Panathenaic* games, or at the *Iolaea*? All have had their worthy advocates. Bowra, with clear and cogent reasoning, comes to the conclusion that the occasion was Hiero's victory won at Olympia in 468 B.C. with the four-horse car. It is, therefore, not a *Pythian* ode but an *Olympian*, wrongly classified (like *Pythian III* and *Nemean XI*) by the Alexandrians. Indeed, *Pythian II*, it seems, was not a genuine epinician at all, but rather a "poetical epistle," with no address to any god and no allusion to a chorus or to any time or place for its presentation. In it Pindar pays his respects to a rival poet, whom he calls an "ape"—surely Bacchylides, who more than once in the extant poems imitates Pindar—and assails certain friends of Hiero who seem to have influenced him in his preference for the *Cean* in 468.

In the second paper, "Milton and Horace, A Study of Milton's Sonnets," John H. Finley, Jr. presents an extended (forty-five pages) and thorough analysis of the spirit, thought, and form of Milton's poetry as compared with Horace's, reinforced by equally thorough acquaintance with Milton's prose, both Latin and English. The author brings out clearly the kinship of Milton and Horace, whether in letter only or in spirit and form as well. Milton, following Horace and the Greek lyrists, adopted the classical conception of the poet's task and place in society and therefore, as a *Musarum sacerdos*, made his verse the vehicle for religious, ethical, and civic teaching. In his hands the sonnet became the English counterpart of the Horatian ode. Milton was, of course, steeped in the classics, especially Ovid and Horace, and echoes from them are clearly



heard on every hand.<sup>1</sup> But conscious imitation of Horace is most strikingly seen in those sonnets which are addressed to friends by name, but which in tone and purpose are more didactic than personal.

In the third contribution to this volume Eva Matthews Sanford, with thorough mastery of the sources, both ancient and modern, throws new light upon the vexed question of "Nero and the East." With critical acumen she demonstrates that it is not, as Dessau declared it to be, "lost labor to try to investigate Nero's purpose" in his proposed campaigns against Ethiopia and the Caspian Gates. Her conclusion is that Nero, led by various oracles of Eastern origin and by Hellenistic-Oriental legends promising world dominion and universal peace under a heaven-sent, divine king, saw in himself the fulfilment of the aspirations of the world and needed only the addition of the far north and northeast and of "the Aethiopians, remotest of men, some beneath the setting and some beneath the rising Hyperion," in order to be accepted as that promised Messiah and king.

In the fourth essay Sterling Dow, on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidence, reconstructs a complete calendar of the Eleusinian mysteries from Boedromion 13 to 27 and defines the various meeting places of the *boule*. By another similar study he discovers that the Lycaean festival of Arcadia, which had been suspended for some time, was refounded about 215 B.C.

The fifth study entitled "Chryseis," by Sterling Dow and Charles Farwell Edson, Jr., is a valuable contribution to the history of Macedonia in the latter part of the third century B.C. The authors reverse the usual principles of criticism and give more credence to the literary than to the epigraphical sources, which in the case of the Macedonian kings may be reasonably suspected. After carefully weighing all the evidence the authors reach the conclusion that Philip V was the son of Chryseis, who was the captive mistress, not the wife, of Demetrius II. Chryseis was not her real name but a name bestowed upon her by the king in imitation of Agamemnon and his captive girl. After the death of Demetrius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially the thirteenth sonnet, addressed to Mr. Henry Lawes, and the twentieth, to Mr. Lawrence— which is called "the most Horatian poem in English."

Chryseis became the lawful wife of Antigonos III, who then adopted Philip and thus secured his succession to the throne. The solution of the problem of the parentage of Philip V and of the succession of Antigonos to the throne (227 B.C.) leads the authors also to the establishment of correct dates for the revolution in Macedon and the Carian war (226 B.C.).

In the final article, "*Tusca Origo Raetis*," Joshua Whatmough enters a vigorous defense of his contention that the Raeti were not of Etruscan origin, as Livy and other ancient writers assert they were. In support of his thesis he marshals the available archaeological material, which at best is scant, the toponymy of Raetia, which is more Celtic and Illyrian than Etruscan, and the sixty-eight known Raetic inscriptions, rather meager in quantity. Until our knowledge of Etruscan and Raetian and of the pre-Italic dialects generally is considerably widened and deepened, the issues at stake cannot be declared definitely settled. At least nothing can be gained by the acrimony of Whatmough's bitter attack on Livy's chief champion.

The volume is admirably printed. Misprints are rare, though three occur on page 161: *Heeresversammlung* with one *m* missing, *loc. cit* without the period after *i*, and "forgo."

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WOODHOUSE, W. J., *Solon the Liberator*, A Study of the Agrarian Problem in Attika in the Seventh Century: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. xvi+218. \$4.25.

*Solon the Liberator*, ready for the press some months before the lamented author's death (Oct. 26, 1937), did not make its appearance until nearly a year after that date. Classical scholars, long familiar with his published work—books, editions of classical authors, and contributions to journals and encyclopaedias—have a warm welcome for this posthumous volume and hope that some of his unfinished work may still be made available.

*Solon the Liberator* reveals the same thoroughness of scholarly research, sincerity of thought, clarity of expression, and moderation of judgment that we have found in all that has preceded it

from the author's pen. Students who have hitherto accepted Heinrich Swoboda's epoch-making *Beiträge zur griechischen Rechtgeschichte* (1905) as authoritative will find in Woodhouse's widely divergent conclusions much food for further reflection.

In chapter I, "Rural Attika," the author emphasizes the fact that, in spite of Pericles to the contrary, the population of Attica at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War was a rural one—"a prosperous and contented class of small holders or yeomen, the very marrow of the body politic." But at the beginning of the sixth century Solon had found the small farms of Attica and also the persons of the owners themselves and their families mortgaged for all of their value, people unable to meet payments due on either principal or interest, groaning in hopeless poverty and virtually enslaved, sometimes driven from home and native land, and sometimes actually sold abroad. With almost superhuman wisdom and dauntless courage Solon accomplished what no other economic reformer ever did before or since: He solved the debtor and creditor problems of his time to the satisfaction of both sides and freed the lower classes from the oppression and exploitation of the wealthy nobles. How did he do it? That is the subject of *Solon the Liberator*.

The author carefully weighs (1) the evidence from the "beggarly score or so" of Solon's own verses; (2) the testimony of Aristotle in the *Constitution of Athens* (especially 2, 6, and 16); (3) Plutarch's statements in his *Life of Solon*; and (4) Androtion. Although our sources do not altogether agree, in regard to two essential facts there can be no dispute. In the time of Solon the common people of Attica were in a sad state of indebtedness to the rich. Furthermore, there were two classes of the desperately poor: (1) people who had borrowed money and could not repay; and (2) the "hectemors" (*ἐκτῆμοροι*, one-sixth-share croppers). To the identity and status of this second class, left obscure by all the ancient sources, Woodhouse gives especial attention in chapters v and vi and arrives at the conclusion that they were neither free, rent-paying tenants nor free, wage-earning laborers working when hired by the land owners. Neither were they bond-slaves. And yet the hectemors and their families were, because of financial obligations

unmet, under legal compulsion of service to a master, if they and theirs were to remain in Attica or to live at all. What made their condition particularly galling was that, though legally members of the Athenian body politic, they were the victims of an age-old, heartless system under which they had all the disadvantages of slavery and none of its advantages. One feature of Solon's great work as liberator was the striking of the shackles from the persons of these unhappy "hektemoroi" and thus restoring them in fact as well as in theory to their rightful place as full citizens in the Athenian democracy.

Another act of the liberator was "setting free" the land that "had been enslaved" (Solon, *Frag.* 9). The Attic peasant's land, like the Hebrew's, was an original allotment belonging to the family and inalienable. It could not be sold and transferred; but it could be mortgaged—lost to his use until redeemed.<sup>1</sup> Such an attachment was inscribed on a boundary stone or record stone (*δρος*), and when the debt was satisfied the *δρος* was removed. By the end of the seventh century the wealthy nobles had in this way brought under their control the greater part of all the holdings of the Attic peasantry, including their persons and their families. Solon's reforms swept all such *δροι* away, and therewith the peasant owner was again a free man and an Athenian citizen. The farm indebtedness had come to such a pass that the creditor had no possible hope of ever collecting, while the debtor had no possible hope of ever paying, so that everybody realized that the only thing to do was to wipe the slate clean and begin all over again. That was Solon's land reform, and everyone had to be reasonably satisfied. Solon's general abolition of all debts, public and private, was perhaps the more readily accepted because everyone could see that the general discontent of the masses might soon have broken out in a violent revolution, and also because it included with the impoverished peasant a considerable number of the nobility, es-

<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century this practice was modified to the extent that possession of landed property was actually transferred to a creditor as security for a loan, but with the definite proviso of an option of redemption by the borrower or his heirs at the price for which it had been sold.

pecially in the line of younger sons who had financially fallen on evil days.

Solon's "disburdenment" also freed the people from possible future enslavement for debt by prohibiting any loan in which the person of the debtor was pledged as security. Other reforms relieved the lower classes from the oppression of class rule, from the maladministration of justice at the hands of the nobility, and from the hardships incident to unjust distribution of land. Not the least humanitarian element in Solon's reforms was the restoration of Attic citizens who had voluntarily fled from the country to escape enslavement for debt and the redemption of such as had been sold abroad by their heartless creditors.

In a posthumously printed book one might expect to find misprints and inconsistencies of many kinds. Apart from misplaced quotation marks and other faulty punctuation and an occasional faulty word-division, only two actual misprints have been discovered: "rout" for root (p. 102) and "ῥδῆ" for ῥδῆ (p. 167). In the transliteration of Greek names the author apparently aimed at extreme preservation of the Greek forms; but such glaring inconsistencies occur as Sikyon and Corinth side by side; Attika, but Hypothec; Lykourgos, but Plutarch; Alkaïos, but Aegina; Thucydides, but Perikles. Most objectionable are Latin adjectival forms with Greek spellings: Lakedaimonian, Boiotian, and many more. Incorrect but not misleading is the use of Ar. for both Aristotle and Aristophanes and of Arist. for both the philosopher and the poet.

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Making a Marionette Show

Marionette shows given by the Latin pupils of Seymour High School, Seymour, Texas, under the direction of Lucy Moore, have won wide acclaim. At the request of this department, Miss Moore has written complete directions for making such a show. Some of the plays that her pupils have given are *Julius Caesar*, the *Aeneid*, and the *Judgment of Paris*. The pupils under her guidance composed the dialogues and arranged the scenes. Some learned and spoke the parts, while others manipulated the figures.

### THE DOLLS

Materials: salt, corn-starch, wire, cloth, paint, paraffin, kleenex, etc. Construction: Mix thoroughly and smoothly one cup of salt,<sup>1</sup> two cups of corn-starch, and one or more cups of water. Cook in an iron skillet until very stiff, stirring constantly to keep from lumping. While the mixture is still soft, add one layer of kleenex (or other paper handkerchief) at a time until four or five pieces of kleenex have been added. Spread the kleenex over the surface of the mixture so that it will not "ball up." When the mixture is cooked as stiff as it can be and the part next to the skillet is crisp, put it out on a board. When it is cool enough to handle, work it thoroughly with the hands. Then mold the dolls' heads, shaping the features in detail by using a small knife. The heads can be made hollow by molding them over a cylinder-shaped piece of cardboard, which is withdrawn when the molding is finished. While the head is soft insert small wire loops in each ear and

<sup>1</sup> Alum may be used in the place of salt. It makes a lighter, smoother material. Although it is more brittle, it is rather satisfactory. Dissolve the alum in water; then add the corn-starch.

below the neck. Place a long stick in the neck and stand in a bottle to dry.

When the heads are dry—this takes several days—paint on the complexions. After these have dried, paint in the hair and other features, paying especial attention to the expressions of the eyes. For this purpose mix white enamel with oil paints, as this combination dries faster; but do not use too much enamel, as this makes the paint run and spoils the effect. After the paint on the faces is thoroughly dry, cover the face, except the eyes and lips, with melted paraffin, using a small soft brush. This gives the flesh a life-like appearance.

The hands and feet, and the parts of the arms and legs not concealed by the clothes are made in the same manner as the head. When these are finished make a cloth body for the doll, sewing it to the loops below the neck, and to similar loops in the arms and legs. The body is more active if not stuffed at all. Figures, however, which must show most of the body nude can be made by making the arms, body, head, and legs separate and joining them on the inside of the body by means of wires. The body is made hollow and the wires are left rather loose so as to give motion to the limbs. The joints can be covered with clothing. The most satisfactory height for the dolls is about twelve inches for an adult figure.

The costumes for Roman dolls can be made by copying figures. From the American Classical League Service Bureau, New York University, Washington Square East, New York, may be secured a good pattern for a toga: Order no. 119, *How To Make a Roman Toga* (ten cents), and for a Roman legionary: Order no. 434 (five cents).

For stringing the dolls perhaps the best directions are those given in the *Tony Sarg Marionette Book*, pp. 32-34: The Viking Press, New York. The strings of each particular doll are made to suit the height of the pupil who is to manipulate it. The pupil holds the crossboard control level while the five strings are secured to the board and to the doll. Strings to the doll's knees are fastened to the ends of the board, though these knee strings may be dispensed with quite satisfactorily. Use heavy black linen thread for the strings.

## THE STAGE

Make the stage to fit the size of the room in which the plays are to be given. For the average schoolroom a stage about sixty inches wide by fifty-five inches high by thirty inches deep is most suitable. A light-weight wood or beaverboard can be used. The back board may serve as the background by painting on it scenery which will be suitable for one or more acts. Another piece of board of equal size with an opening cut in it for the curtain serves for the front. The two are joined by four small iron rods which screw on and off with screws and washers. The iron rods are each a few inches longer than the depth of the stage. Small holes are cut in the front and back pieces through which the iron rods pass. The washers are placed on the inner and the screws on the front and back sides of the pieces. Both front and back boards are then cut down the center and fastened together with tiny hinges so that the pieces can be folded when the stage is taken down. A third piece of board forms the floor of the stage. A curtain which parts in the middle and can be drawn back by a string is attached to a small iron rod by tiny brass rings. A two-by-four piece is screwed back of each side of the opening. A hole is bored through the top end of each two-by-four for the curtain rod to rest in. Other holes are made for the strings that open and close the curtains. These pieces are unscrewed whenever the stage is taken down. Use washers under the screws. Inside the stage two curtains (pale blue for the sky is a good color) are hung from the two upper iron rods. The whole stage is set on tables high enough for it to be seen from the seats in the room. On the tables around the stage stand the pupils who pull the strings. They are hidden from the sight of the spectators by a large dark curtain which covers one side of the room, leaving only the front of the little theater showing. Buy inexpensive material for the large curtain and line it on the inside with newspapers each time it is used so that the forms of the pupils will not show through. A strong light is placed inside above the stage, and a string of Christmas-tree lights is used for footlights.

## THE SCENERY

The scenery can be made of cardboard and painted. Walls, trees, etc., can be made to stand by cardboard props which can be secured to the floor of the stage by thumb tacks.

## THE OPERATION

The pupil learns to be a puppeteer by practice. The main thing is to keep the eyes fixed on the doll at all times whether it is in motion or still. Good suggestions are given in the *Tony Sarg Marionette Book*.

These suggestions have been given in the hope that someone may be helped, but with the full realization that the real success of the marionette show rests largely upon the imagination, determination, and skill of the creator.

## Latin Newspapers

*Aquila Waltonia*: January, 1940, issue. This number is noteworthy for its unusually excellent illustrations, the story in Latin of Nathan Hale, and the general high quality of its articles.

*Iuventus*—Latin Magazine from Hungary

In Hungary, where Latin remained as a court language until the closing decades of the nineteenth century, is published monthly a Latin magazine of *ca.* sixteen pages, *Iuventus—ephemeris in usus iuventutis studiosae*. Intended for readers of secondary-school age, it is divided into three departments: (1) *Lectoribus Minimis*, containing jokes and stories; (2) *Lectoribus Mediis*, containing stories and articles on classical subjects, science, history, and current events; (3) *Lectoribus Maioribus*, containing articles on current events, science, book reviews, *aenigmata*, etc.

The December, 1939, issue contained, among other interesting items, the following: *In museo Pergami Beroliniensi*; *Quo modo Romani merces commendationibus pervulgaverint*; *De Polonia propugnaculo fidei*; *Peregrinationes in Superiore Hungaria et Subcarpathica regione*; a description of the magnetic mine; and some items on Finland.

The Latin is quite within the power of the average high-school pupil, and is a means of making Latin modern and alive to him, while giving him a feeling of an international bond with the Hungarian contributors.

## Texas University Latin Leaflet

A pamphlet which contains much material useful to Latin teachers is the *Latin Leaflet*, University of Texas Publication (No.

3930) for August 8, 1939, issued by the University Department of Classical Languages in conjunction with the Texas Classical Association in the interest of Latin teaching in the high schools of Texas.

A section, "Suggestions for Latin Clubs," includes a very complete list of Latin names for use in Latin menus. Classical names are used wherever possible; in other cases, where present-day articles were unknown in classical times, Renaissance terms or inventions on classical models from the articles' native names are employed. The list comprises suggestions under the following headings: divisions of the feast, methods of cooking, bread and butter, appetizers, etc., beverages, meat and fish, vegetables, fruits, desserts, etc.

The second item in this section gives a number of rhymes used on the place-cards at a meeting of the Latin Tournament Committee, which Latin clubs or classes will find interesting.

The greater part of the *Leaflet* is devoted to the Texas Latin Tournament, held this year on April 6, 1940. This tournament is one of the outstanding classical events in Texas. While several other states hold similar contests, many have never done so. Such a contest, though costly in time and effort, is often a valuable tool in the fight for the preservation of Latin in the secondary schools.

For Latin teachers interested in a contest much suggestive material is to be found in this section of the *Leaflet*. There are discussions of: divisions of the contest, directions and rules, detailed outlines of grammar and vocabulary lists on which the various division contests will be based. Of special interest to Latin teachers in general are: a list of essay subjects for pupils of various years, which may be of help to clubs or for cultural material in class; lists of college-entrance words for second, third, and fourth years arranged according to first appearance; reviews of several useful classroom books, fiction and non-fiction; and a copy of the 1939 *Tournament Examinations* for each division, with the value assigned to each question.

Copies of the *Leaflet* may be secured from University Publications, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, at ten cents each.



## Current Events

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[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

### Latin in China

Those who like to think of Latin as a universal language would enjoy perusing the booklet of Dr. Albert Czech, S.V.D., entitled *De Repraesentatione Graphica Propositionis Latinae*; for this little book of fifty-six pages was printed in Shantung (1939) to teach Chinese students the elements of the Latin sentence. This it does in very simple Latin helped by effective graphic devices. There are a few lines of Chinese text here and there, about which Occidental readers need not worry.

This opening of the door to the wealth of Latin literature for the Chinese reminds me of a Chinese graduate student in political science who once studied beginners' Greek with me "because his professors were always quoting Aristotle."

E. T.

### Large Attendance at the Illinois Classical Conference

Due primarily to the untiring efforts of its third president, Miss Irene Crabb, of Evanston Township High School, the third annual Classical Conference was by far the most profitable and interesting as yet held. More than two hundred and fifty teachers from high schools and colleges in Illinois attended the various meetings at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, on February 21-23.

The conference opened on Thursday evening with a joint meeting of teachers and members of the Chicago Archaeological Society. Prof. Walter Agard gave an interesting illustrated lecture on "Classical Mythology as Interpreted by Modern Sculptors." After the lecture a "get-acquainted" reception was held in the Lower Tower Ball Room.

After a short business session on Friday morning, stimulating papers were presented to the group. Miss Effie Case, of La Grange High School, spoke on "Master Key to Life and Learning." Dean Charles Adamec, of Knox College, discussed "The Great Medieval Hymns." Then Dan Crabb, a sophomore at the University of Chicago and a recent winner in the Illinois Classical Contest, gave a reading entitled "*Pro Lingua Latina*." The morning meeting closed with an explanation concerning the Junior Classical Society by two pupils of the Evanston High School, Mary Dee Drummond and James Stoker.

Miss Crabb, the president, opened the afternoon meeting with her address of welcome, in which she urged Latin teachers to keep abreast with the fundamental objectives of progressive education. Following this, Prof. Walter Miller, of the University of Missouri, gave a very enlightening lecture on "Greek Isles in the Mediterranean."

The annual banquet, held on Friday evening, had Prof. B. L. Ullman, of the University of Chicago, as its toastmaster. He introduced for short talks Dean Addison Hibbard, of Northwestern; Father James Mertz, of Loyola; and Prof. Walter Miller, of Missouri.

Immediately after the banquet, members of the conference and their friends left for New Trier Township High School in Winnetka, where Dr. C. Russell Small, head of the Latin department, entertained them. Two plays, in which the actors were pupils of New Trier High School, were presented for the conference. The first was *The Trial of Catiline*, taken from Cicero's orations, and the second, named *Iarbas*, had as its theme the love affair of Dido and Aeneas. Both were well done and this entertainment easily proved to be one of the high spots of the conference. Teachers were very enthusiastic and went away with the firm conviction that Dr. Small was keeping Latin at New Trier in line with the progressive education movement.

On Saturday morning Miss Laura Woodruff, of Oak Park High School, conducted a demonstration class in first-year Latin. This proved to be of great interest and benefit to the overflow crowd which attended the meeting. After this class an informal discussion of the procedure used was directed by Miss Catherine Carver, of the Illinois State Normal University. Following this discussion Kevin Guinagh, of Eastern Illinois Teachers College, gave an interesting treatment of "Should We Modify Our Way of Teaching College Latin?"

The final conference meeting was held in conjunction with the Chicago Classical Club at a luncheon in the Lower Tower Ball Room. Payson S. Wild,

of Chicago, gave a very humorous talk which he labeled "I Check in Again."

Norman Johnson, of Knox College, was elected as president of the conference for next year, which is to be held at Galesburg. Knox College will at that time be the host for the classical teachers from all sections of the state.

**James O'Donnell Bennett**

The place which Latin and Greek hold in American education is not due so much to the arguments and propaganda of us who teach these subjects as to the wide-spread popular belief in the value of Latin for English and the esteem in which classical literature, philosophy, and art are held by a fairly large group of intelligentsia. When members of this group are themselves writers and so in a position to set their views before a large public, their aid to our cause is almost inestimable. It follows that the classics lost a valued protagonist in the passing of James O'Donnell Bennett on February 27, when almost seventy years of age. For nearly forty-five years he was connected with Chicago journalism, especially as a feature writer for the *Tribune*. Perhaps his greatest success was gained as a dramatic critic and war correspondent. He had an eye for significant details and a deep sympathy which enabled him to describe scenes and actions so that the reader almost seemed to be present at them. In fact for several years he used Eye Witness as his nom de plume. I heard him once, in his home, describe the entry of the German army into Brussels with such dramatic realism and poignancy that he held our rapt attention. He was a man of broad culture, of which Greek, which he studied at the University of Michigan under Professor M. L. D'Ooge, always remained the core and which retained his heartfelt devotion to the end. He was greatly interested in the Horace bimillennium, which he publicized in a full-page story in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* and in several shorter articles. His interview with Professor Paul Shorey,<sup>1</sup> was as revealing as a portrait by a great painter would be. Perhaps his most ambitious contribution to literature was a series dealing with 100 books—many of them the ancient classics—which was afterwards assembled and published as *Much Loved Books*. His style bore a close resemblance to Ruskin's; but once when I asked him whether he was conscious of this and whether it was due to accident or design, he only smiled and made no reply. His library of 7,000 volumes, in which the classics of all ages predominated, is to be preserved in a special room in the Tribune Tower as a storehouse of *belles lettres* for the inspiration of writers and artists. His passing is a loss not only to his friends and admirers but to the whole country, which will not soon see his like again.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

**The Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri**

The Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri met in Emporia,

<sup>1</sup> In the issue of August 7, 1932.

Kansas, with the Kansas State Teachers' College as host, Friday and Saturday, April 5 and 6. The Convocation Address, entitled "The Classics in a Modern Education," was delivered by Dr. Walter R. Agard, of the University of Wisconsin, Friday at 10:00 A.M. Friday evening was made delightful by the performance of a classical play by the Gilson Players, of Kansas State Teachers' College. Saturday morning the program ran: "Character Training Through Latin," Miss Beulah B. Wiley, Shawnee Mission High School; "The Forgotten Student," Sister Mary Ryan, Ward High School, Kansas City; "Junior High-School Latin Problems," Miss Beulah B. Crawford, Hutchinson, and Miss Ellen Srb, Manhattan; "A Comparison of the Analytical and Reading Method of Teaching Latin," Miss Bertha B. Fuhlhage, Great Bend; "The Latin Club—Testimonial of a Convert," Miss Alfrede Hornor, East High School, Wichita; "The Roman Forum, Then and Now—a Class Project," Miss Dorothy Dey, Wellington; Music, "O Bone Jesu," and "Adoramus Te, Christe," Palestrina, Treble Clef Club, Kansas State Teachers' College, directed by Miss Catherine Strouse; "Recent Books for Teachers and Students": *The Roman's World*, Moore, Miss Grace Smith, Wyandotte High School; *New Deal in Old Rome*, Haskell, Dr. A. T. Walker, Kansas University; "Musicians of Ancient Rome," Miss Annie P. Hopkins, Community High School, Chapman; address, "Mythology in Modern Art," illustrated, Dr. Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin. The dinner closed with an address of welcome by President T. W. Butcher, followed by a paper entitled "Latin for Our Sons and Daughters," by Dean David L. MacFarlane. The whole was capped by an interpretative classical dance entitled "Nymphs at Play" by the Rhythmic Circle, under the direction of Miss Cecile Gilbert, of Kansas State Teachers' College. The afternoon session consisted of: "Principal Points of Interest in Caesar," Miss Kate B. Miles, Salina; "The Teaching of Latin and English," Miss Teresa Ryan, Kansas State Teachers' College; "The Teaching of Latin and French," Dr. Minnie Miller, Kansas State Teachers' College; "Teaching Poetry as Poetry," Dr. Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin.

The program was prepared "especially for high-school Latin teachers," and the response was very gratifying. The officers of the organization are: president, Mary Alice Seller, Emporia State Teachers' College; vice-president, S. J. Pease, Kansas State Teachers' College, Pittsburg; secretary-treasurer, W. L. Holtz, Emporia.

#### Massachusetts—Worcester

The Latin Club of the State Teachers' College at Worcester presented the "Phormio" of Terence as its annual production, Feb. 26, 1940, under the direction of Professor Francis L. Jones. The play was given in English—Laing's translation. The costumes were made by students, and a student committee painted the scenery under the direction of a graduate.

**National Planning for a Unified Program**

It is an event of unusual significance when nineteen national organizations of teachers, formed to promote the interests of their respective subject fields, join hands for the study of a curriculum organized in terms of the needs and interests of children and youth. The National Commission on Co-operative Curriculum Planning, which met for the first time in February, 1939, has now completed its organization, and includes representatives of national bodies of teachers in the fields of the modern and classical languages, English, the sciences, health and physical education, home economics, business education, music, art, journalism, speech, and mathematics.

The first report of the Commission is already in preparation. It will deal with those resources for general education which may be found in the respective disciplines represented, and which are related to the task of preparing children and youth for intelligent participation in the life of a democratic society. It will be concerned, not with the development of the respective fields as organized bodies of knowledge or skills, but with the contributions these fields may make to the general education of the learner. The volume will include, in addition to a summary indicating areas of interest common to many fields, concrete suggestion concerning techniques of co-operation among teachers of various subject fields. The Commission has adopted, in substance, the statement of aims formulated by the Educational Policies Commission.

The representative of the American Classical League on the commission is B. L. Ullman, of the University of Chicago. John J. DeBoer, of the Chicago Teachers' College, is chairman of the Commission, and Lilly Lindquist, of Wayne University, is secretary.



## Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

[Compiled by Professors Adolph Frederick Pauli and John William Spaeth, Jr.,  
of Wesleyan University.]

*The American Historical Review* XLV (1940).—(January: 269–278 W. S. Ferguson, "Polis and Idia in Periclean Athens: the Relation Between Public Service and Private Activities." "Periclean Athens was emphatically not a totalitarian state. It is the essence of its greatness that it harmonized the self-abnegation judged necessary for political effectiveness with freedom of the human spirit. . . . Athens practiced laissez-faire in the economic sphere. . . . Athenian economy, thus conditioned by slavery, land, and climate, and by contemporary practices in making and exchanging goods, was flexible enough to bear the brunt of a polity in which each and every citizen was expected to be an active partner.")

*The American Mercury* XLIX (1940).—(March: 334–339) Carlton Parker, "The Bunk in Classical Scholarship." The author protests, by ridicule, against "the preoccupation with non-essentials typical of classical scholarship," and suggests that more attention be given to effective teaching.

*The American Scholar* IX (1939–1940).—(Winter: 31–50) G. A. Borgese, "Political Creeds and Machiavellian Heresy." Involved in the discussion is ancient classical speculation on politics. ". . . the final import of Machiavelli's intervention in the history of political theory consists in the disintegration of the system of postulates which the ancients had established and which the Middle Ages had further integrated in a more compact though less adjustable order."

*The Architectural Review* LXXXVII (1940).—(January: 1–6) Nigel Nicolson, "Hadrian's Wall Today." This article describes the present condition of the Roman Wall, and criticises the Office of Works for inadequate efforts to preserve it from further deterioration and to explain or interpret it for the public through the resetting of fallen parts, restoration, etc. The article is well illustrated with twenty-three photographs, four plans, and a map.

*Asia* XL (1940).—(January: 47–52) Robert J. Braidwood, "Test Diggings in Syria." The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago spent the latter part of the last season in making "test excavations on the two mounds, Tabbat al-Hammam and Tell Simiriyan," in an attempt to find the site of ancient Simyra, a coastal city which seems to have been "about thirty miles north of the modern Syrian town of Tripoli." The evidence

found suggested that the two mounds are to be identified with ancient Simyra. Ten photographic illustrations accompany the article.

*Boys' Life* xxx (1940).—(January: 3-5; 31-33) I. M. Bolton, "Julius Goes Voyaging." A fictionalized account of Julius Caesar's experiences with the pirates. There are three illustrations.

*The Expository Times* LI (1939).—(December: 118-121) J. W. Jack, "Recent Biblical Archaeology." Evidence from Lachish contributes proof "that the Pentateuchal Codes embody elements of a pre-Mosaic nature, and that Israel's lawgivers made use of much of the ancient ritual and religious practices of the Canaanites." The author also discusses (1) the tablets "dating from the time of Abraham, c. 2000 B.C.," and found "at ancient Mari . . . , a little south of Harran"; (2) the finds made at Ezion-Geber, "Solomon's seaport on the Gulf of Aqabah"; and (3) archaeological evidence for ancient bazaars, or commercial quarters.

*The German Quarterly* XIII (1940).—(January: 15-18) Harold G. Carlson, "Classical Pseudonyms of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in Germany." The author notes three types of classical pseudonyms: (1) "the German stem" of the name with the Latin endings "-us" or "-ius," (2) a Greek or Latin translation of the German name, (3) a Latin name indicating the place of birth or residence.

*The Illustrated London News* cxcv (1939).—(December 16: 903-905; 916) A. J. B. Wace, "New Light on Pre-Homeric Mycenae: Recent Excavations Reveal Remarkable Pottery and the Loveliest Mycenaean Ivory Ever Found." "Attention was specially directed to four points: the ruins of the Greek Temple on the summit of the citadel, the 'House of Columns' below the palace to the east, an area just outside the Lion Gate on the west, and the 'Treasury' of Atreus. The results from all were extremely satisfactory and yielded much new information of great value of the history and culture of Mycenae." There are fifteen photographic illustrations and one plan. (December 23: 942 f.) A. J. B. Wace, "'Treasury of Atreus' Discoveries: The Genius of a Bronze-Age Master-Builders; Mason's Marks of 1500 B.C." "We dug behind the north and south walls of the entrance passage—*dromos*—and made a detailed examination of their construction." The careful investigation also uncovered much new evidence regarding the date. There are seven photographic illustrations. (December 30: 973-975) Claude F. A. Schaeffer, "A Mighty *Entrôpot* of Ancient Civilisations: The North Syrian Kingdom of Ugarit as a Centre of Intellectual Life in the Second Millennium B.C.; With Aegean Meeting Egyptian Influences." During the ninth archeological campaign at Ras Shamra, in the Eleventh Level, assigned to the first quarter in the second millennium B.C., were "discovered many imitations of pottery of an Aegean type, probably Cretan, manufactured by the original colonists to the country and installed at Ugarit, which became one of the centres for Cretan commerce in the Orient." The most important discoveries of the

campaign were the evidences of prosperity and high cultural development found northwest of the *tell*, and dating from the "middle of the Second Millennium." There are sixteen photographic illustrations and one map. cxcvi (1940).—(January 6: 26–29) Claude F. A. Schaeffer, "The Elegance That Was Ugarit: The Riding-School and Stables; The Admirable Drainage System; and an Exquisite 'Steel'-Bladed Battle-Axe Used by Sophisticated Syrian Warriors Over 3000 Years Ago." This continues the article published in the previous issue. The axe, dated "from the beginning of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries B.C.," is called "the oldest weapon of iron put through steel-making processes actually known." Two copper statuettes of divinities, once covered with gold leaf, and reflecting Minoan influences, were found in a sanctuary "whose origin goes back certainly to the nineteenth and perhaps to the twentieth century B.C." Twenty photographic illustrations accompany the article.

*International Affairs* xviii (1939).—(November-December: 798–806) R. H. Tawney, "Dr. Toynbee's Study of History." A summary and critical discussion of Volumes iv, v, and vi of Professor Toynbee's work, *A Study of History*. "An attempt to summarise Professor Toynbee's argument necessarily fails to do it justice. . . . Fertility, vitality, energy, inexhaustible *élan* are the words which first rise to one's lips when one puts these volumes down."

*Life* viii (1940).—(February 5: 61–67) "The Classics, at St. John's; They Come into Their Own Once More." Fourteen photographic illustrations, four drawings, and descriptive text. "From Homer to Freud they read in translations the hundred great books which tower up as the landmarks of Western thought and culture. . . . The first Classics class at St. John's is now only in its junior year. But already its members have a broad grasp of the history of ideas that would put to shame the students of larger colleges."

*Life and Letters* xxiv (1940).—(January: 35–40) E. Shrewsbury, "The Life Story of the Verb 'To Be.'" Fantastical. (45–52) J. O. Wisdom, "Ulterior Aims in Greek Political Thought." This is a critical, and slightly unfavorable, review of Farrington's *Science and Politics in the Ancient World*.

*The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* xxxii (1938).—(98–101) Marian Harman, "A Newly-Discovered Oxford Book." The University of Illinois Library possesses one of two known copies of "Theophrastus' *Characters*, printed by John Lichfield for Henry Cripps at the Oxford Press in 1628." xxxiii (1939).—(85–97) Louis B. Wright, "The Classical Tradition in Colonial Virginia." Depicts the attitude of colonial Virginians toward classical learning and their proficiency in the use of the ancient languages, and describes private libraries owned by them. [Both the above volumes published in December, 1939.]

PAULI

*Journal of the History of Ideas* i (1940).—(January: 38–58) Gilbert Chinard,

"Polybius and the American Consitution." A discussion of the debt of our founding fathers to Polybius and other ancient writers on government.

*Modern Language Forum* xxiv (1939).—(June: 57-84) B. J. Whiting and Others, "The Study of Proverbs." A report of the Committee on Proverbs of the Group Comparative Literature II of the Modern Language Association of America. Among other conclusions are these: that "we need a collection of classical Greek proverbs" and that "a collection of medieval Latin proverbs is an urgent necessity."

*Modern Language Notes* lv (1940).—(February: 103-105) Allan H. Gilbert, "Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Censorinus." A possible source of the lines in *As You Like It* (II, 7, 139-166) is Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 14, 7. (March: 211 f.) Kevin Guinagh, "Source of the Quotation from Augustine in *The Parson's Tale*, 985." Chaucer's lines, "The herte travailleth for the shame of his synne," etc. are derived from Augustine's *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, x, 25.

*Modern Philology* xxxvii (1940).—(February: 279-291) Charles F. Harold, "Newman and the Alexandrian Platonists." The study undertakes "to go back to the sources in Newman's early reading and to discover in 'the broad philosophy of Clement and Origen' . . . the roots of his Platonism, and the nature of that influence which shaped the mentality which produced the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* and *The Idea of a University*."

*Modern Language Review* xxxv (1940).—(January: 1-7) Marjorie Walters, "The Literary Background of Francis Bacon's Essay 'Of Death'." Bacon's "primary interest is more active than Senecan Stoicism in this matter of investigation of death. He utilizes Senecan arguments to prove his point that death is neither fearful nor nauseating. But he goes further: here he leaves Renaissance Stoicism and Seneca." (19-39) R. C. Knight, "The Evolution of Racine's 'Poétique'." Racine's "evolution consists in the gradual adoption and explanation of three principles: (i) respect for ancient manners and ancient history . . . [partly] under the influence of Corneille and Racine's own knowledge of the ancient classics; (ii) simplicity of structure . . . ; (iii) a progressive return to the Greek model—through hostility to the opera and under the influence of his increasing appreciation of Sophocles (presumably) and Euripides." (62-66) R. R. Bolgar, "Rabelais's Edition of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates." The Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, translated by Leoniceus, are contained in a collection of several works of Hippocrates and Galen published by Gryphius in 1532. Rabelais was the editor and, as such, exhibits his enthusiasm for Greek.

*National Geographic Magazine* lxxvii (1940).—(March: 291-337) Maynard O. Williams, "Modern *Odyssey* in Classic Lands: Troy's Treasures, Athens' Parthenon, and Rome's First 'Broad Way' Influence Today's Banks, Costumes, Jewelry, and Railroad Timetables," With 27 photographic illustrations. B. Anthony Stewart, "Today's Evidence of Grecian Glory." A series of 22 natural-color photographs. "Santorin and Mykonos, Aegean Gems."

A series of 8 natural-color photographs. (347-394) John Patric, "Italy, From Roman Ruins to Radio: History of Ancient Bridge Building and Road Making Repeats Itself in Modern Public Works and Engineering Projects." With 27 photographic illustrations. "Bright Facets of Italy's Grandeur." A series of 9 natural-color photographs. "Italy's Monuments Tell Rome's Magnificence." A series of 8 photographic illustrations.

*Philological Quarterly* XIX (1940).—(January: 88 f.) W. A. Oldfather, "Pro Ioanne Milto Poeta Populum Anglicanum Iterum Defendente." Emendations proposed to correct the faulty metre of lines 1 and 8 of the satirical Latin poem that appears on pp. 38 f. of the editio princeps of Milton's *Second Defence of the People of England*.

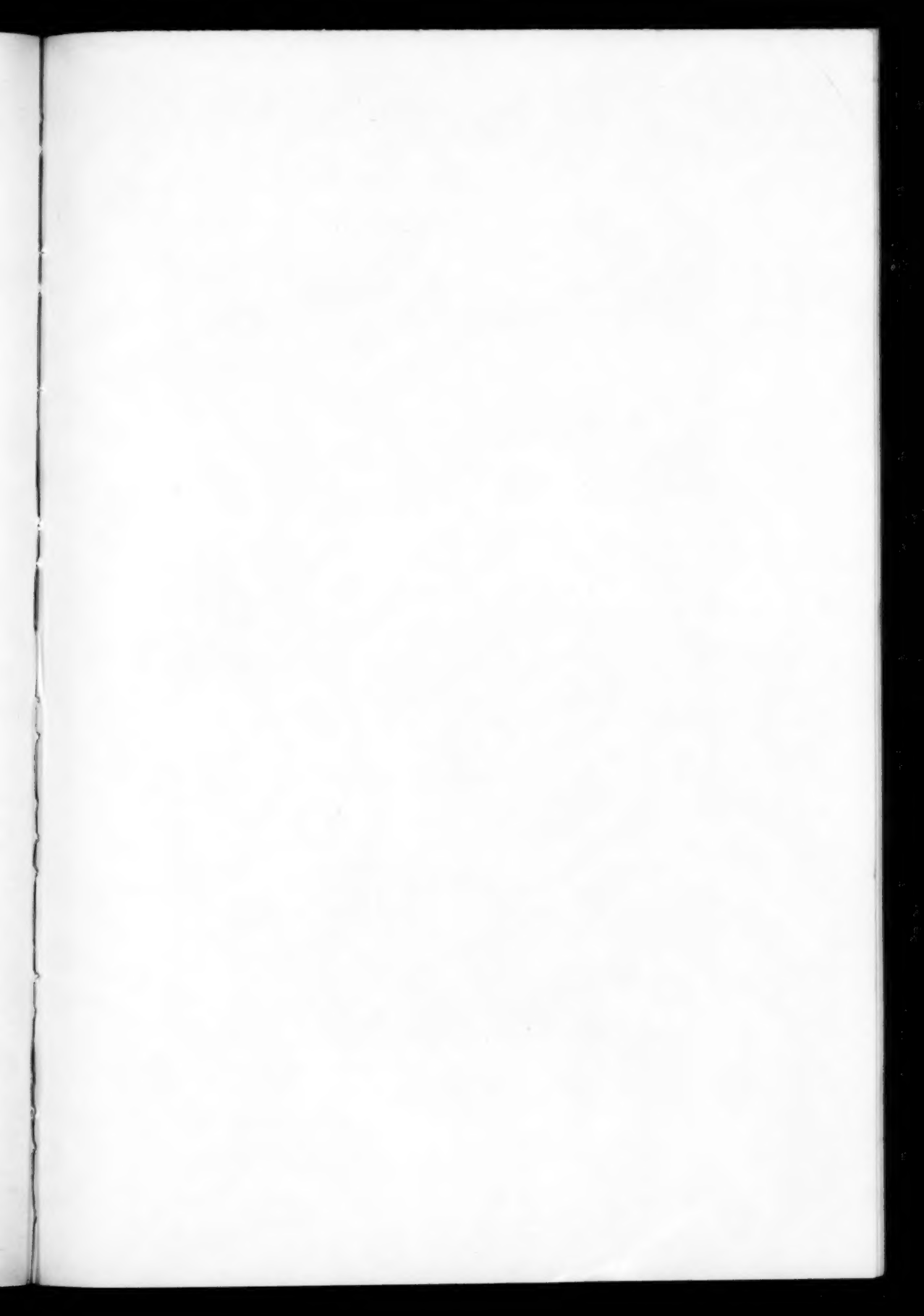
*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* LIV (1939).—(December: 967-973) Daniel C. Boughner, "The Background of Lyly's Tophas." The character Tophas in John Lyly's *Endimion* "represents an early and successful attempt to domesticate on the Elizabethan stage not only the *miles gloriosus* of Latin comedy but also the *capitano millantatore* of the Italian theatre . . . an early exercise in that fusion of Latin, Italian, and English elements which often characterized the *miles gloriosus* in Elizabethan drama." (981-989) Herschel C. Baker, "Classical Material in Broadside Ballads, 1550-1625." The article attempts "to sketch a few of the ways in which the popular writer's classical education influenced the most thoroughly popular of literary productions, the broadside ballad." About one ballad in ten shows traces of classical influence—in theme, incident, allusion, quotation, or the use of corroborative material. (1027-1030) Allan H. Gilbert, "'A Double Janus' (*Paradise Lost* XI, 129)." Milton's "double Janus" is based on the ancient conception of a *Janus quadrifons*, described by Macrobius and identified as *Janus geminus* by Augustine and Isidore as well as later writers.

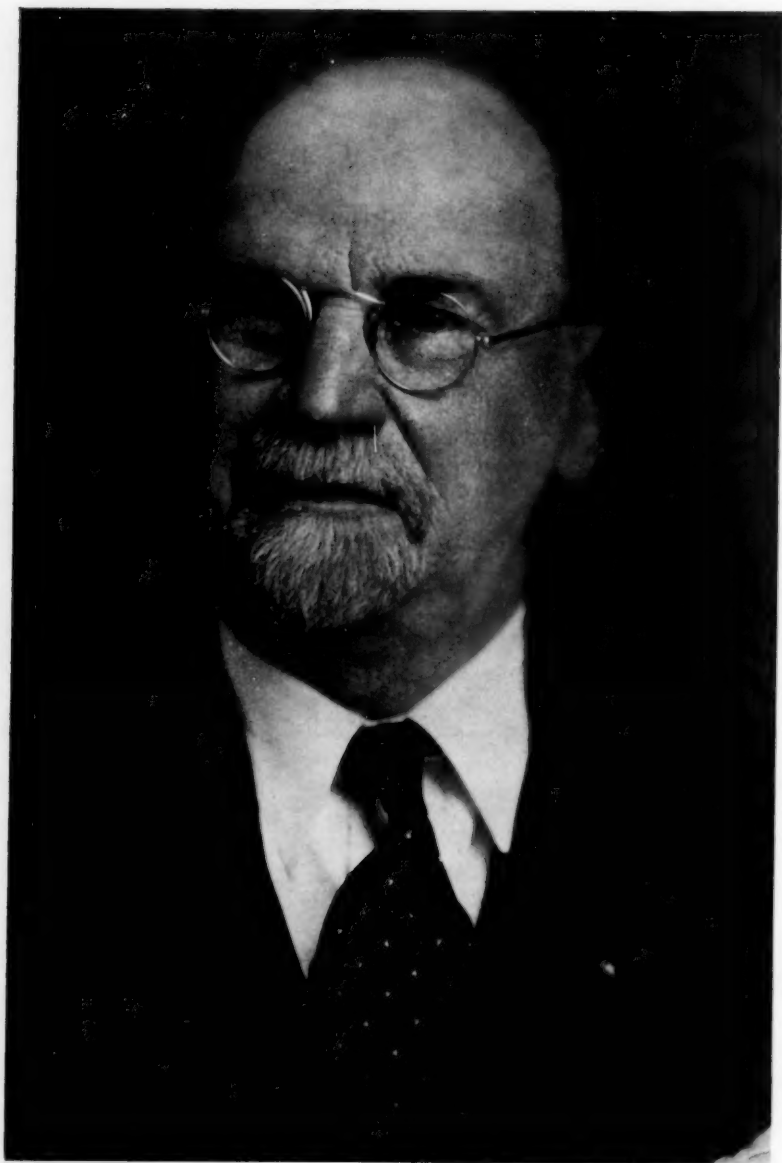
*School and Society* LI (1940).—(January 27: 115 f.) A. M. Withers, "Latin, English, and the Literary Societies." The "decline of the literary societies, and simultaneously the decline in English, has been coincident with the enforced retrocession of Latin and Greek and the other foreign languages on which good English traditions depend, and it does not seem fanciful to look on this double, or triple, phenomenon as cause and effect. . . . Latin and literary societies were twin activities. Both offered the discipline which comes only from the self-initiated and self-sustained attacks on difficulties and complexities requiring rationalization and analysis."

*Scientific American* CLXII (1940).—(February: 150 f.) H. T. Rutledge, "Restoring Rome's Colosseum." With 4 photographic illustrations. "Recent excavations beneath the ancient arena reveal elevator shafts for raising wild beasts to the combat level by means of counterweights."

*South Atlantic Quarterly* XXXIX (1940).—(January: 77-93) Joseph W. Swain, "Edward Gibbon and the Decline of Rome." An essay, partly biographical, on the man and his work.







Benjamin Leonard D'Ooge  
1860-1940

